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POLYNESIA:

A

History of the South Sea Islands.

BY BISHOP RUSSELL.



SCENE IN RAIATEA.

T. NELSON, LONDON AND EDINBURGH.

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POLYNESIA:

A HISTORY

OF THE SOUTH SEA ISLANDS,

INCLUDING

NEW ZEALAND:

WITH NARRATIVE OF THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY, &c.

BY THE

RIGHT REV. M. RUSSELL, LL.D. AND D.C.L.

OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD.

"Till 'midst the streams of distant lands
The islands sound his praise;
And all combin'd, with one accord,
Jehovah's glories raise."

LONDON:
THOMAS NELSON, PATERNOSTER ROW;
AND EDINBURGH.

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PREFACE.

The main object of this volume is to throw light on the introduction of Christianity and civilisation into the islands of the South Sea. From the moment that Wallis discovered the beautiful group which bears the name of George the Third, many schemes were formed for bettering the condition of the natives, who, at their first interview with Britons, though they saw much to excite their wonder, could receive no favourable impression as to the obligations of morality on the cultivated mind. It was not, however, till a later period that any plan was matured for conveying thither the knowledge of true religion and the elements of social improvement. Mercantile speculation had, indeed, been invited to the shores of Otaheite in quest of materials on which to found an intercourse beneficial to the inhabitants of both hemispheres; and Science had selected the spot as a theatre for her triumphs in the sublime department of astronomy. But the year 1796 had arrived before the benevolent spirit of the gospel undertook a nobler mission, animated by the hope of establishing among the gentle savages of the Pacific the foundations of a pure faith and the motives to a holy life.

A variety of opinion continues to prevail as to the effects produced by the labours of the missionary. Without presuming to determine the several points at issue

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on dogmatical grounds, the author has supplied ample materials for forming a clear judgment, both as to what has been already accomplished, and also in regard to the result which must necessarily follow. A change has commenced, the consequences of which, for good or for evil, will undoubtedly be permanent. In no case has the convert, on either side of the equator, relapsed into his former usages, nor revived the hereditary superstition. His new belief may not be fully comprehended, and its influence on his conduct may be at once imperfect and unsteady; but, in all respects, he holds it to be incomparably better than that which he has relinquished, more reasonable in itself, and infinitely more conducive to his happiness. It is accordingly admitted by all who have visited those distant regions, that the cruel abominations of heathenism have not been any where resumed. A principle has been put in operation which no human power can counteract, for it has already connected itself with new institutions affecting the very basis of society, and given birth to hopes that can never be extinguished in the human heart.

Some pains have been taken to exhibit the actual condition of society in Polynesia;—the manners which have been adopted by the natives from their European visiters; the improvement of taste and sentiment among the higher class; a desire for the conveniences and even the luxuries of civilized life; and, above all, the disappearance of those gross indulgences which so often called forth the reprobation of the religious teacher. A view is also given of the manufacturing industry and commercial relations which have been established in some of the islands, more especially in those of the Sandwich group, where consuls from England and the United States have for some time past resided under the protection of the local government.

The attention of the reader is more particularly drawn to New Zealand, which, viewed in reference to trade and colonization, has of late assumed a paramount degree of importance in the eye of the public. Details are pre-

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sented illustrating the progress which has been already made at the various settlements on the coast; describing the productions of the soil, both natural and exotic; and setting forth the vast capability of improvement in agriculture, fishing, manufactures, and, indeed, in every other field of human industry.

A reference is also made to an act just passed "for regulating the sale of waste lands belonging to the crown in the Australian colonies;" a designation which now comprehends New South Wales, South Australia, Western Australia, Van Diemen's Land, and New Zealand, including their respective dependencies. With regard to the more special purposes of this enactment, it will be sufficient to mention, that one-half of the gross proceeds arising from the sale of land will be appropriated to the purposes of emigration, particularly to assist those persons who possess not the means of defraying the expense of their own removal thither from the several portions of the United Kingdom. Property in New Zealand will henceforth be placed on a secure basis; and the claims of individuals will no longer be at variance with the rights or welfare of the natives.

In delineating the state of the inhabitants in the smaller islands of the Pacific, the author has enjoyed the great advantage of perusing an unpublished work, written by a distinguished officer resident some years in that part of the globe, and which is repeatedly quoted under the title of a Manuscript Journal or Diary. The details are the more interesting that they appear not to have been intended for the press; being confined to the casual observations of an intelligent mind, invited to contemplate a new state of things, and under circumstances which could not have occurred had his position in society been materially different.

It has not been thought expedient to enter very deeply into the question which respects the origin of the Polynesian tribes, and the source whence their languages have been derived. On this subject, the reader will find much interesting discussion in the works of Reland, Forster,

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Crawfurd, Zuniga, Ellis, Lang, and in the posthumous volumes of William Humboldt. The more minute acquaintance with the natives, which has been obtained through the medium of recent voyagers, leaves no room for doubt that their progenitors must have proceeded from the eastern shores of Asia, and gradually spread, through various channels and at successive periods, over the surface of the great South Sea.

To the missionaries the divine and the philosopher are greatly indebted for much valuable knowledge, relative to the mythology, the traditions, the laws, government, and usages of the simple people whom they have brought within the pale of revealed religion. From the same source has been gained an acquaintance with their superstitions, their objects of worship, their notions of a future state, their arts of sorcery and divination, their mode of carrying on war, and, more especially, the atrocities of human sacrifice with which their battles were wont to be preceded and followed. Not less interesting are the details which illustrate the progress of education among the subjects of Pomare in the Society cluster, and of Rihoriho in the barbarous islands of Owhyhee and Woahoo. Under such influence the power of civilisation has every where made itself felt in a greater or less degree, combined with the principles of that divine faith which, while it elevates the standard of morality and taste, directs the thoughts of the convert to his eternal destination.

In the department of natural history, due notice is taken of the various hypotheses which have been entertained in relation to the structure of the several classes of islands spread over the Pacific, viewed in connexion with the causes to which they are imagined to owe their present form. The volcanic origin of the larger ones is illustrated by a reference to the rocks of which they are composed; while the extent to which the saxigenous polypes contribute to the elevation of others, is carefully estimated according to the clearest principles that science or observation has hitherto supplied.

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In the other branches of natural science there is still a great deficiency of information, owing as well to the peculiar races of plants and animals which occupy Polynesia, as to the fact that the missionaries, having in view much more important objects, do not devote any particular attention to the zoology, the flora, or the silva of the respective islands. For this reason it has been resolved to defer all details on these various heads till a future occasion, when, in a separate work on Australasia, will be given, by a distinguished naturalist, a complete and systematic view of the subject as it respects the whole of the inhabited lands in the bosom of the South Sea.

The Map provided by the Publishers, with the view of illustrating the position of the several insular groups which fall within the compass of this volume, is constructed on the most approved principle, and presents to the reader, in a very intelligible form, the discoveries of all the recent voyagers in that vast expanse of ocean which stretches from Australia to the western shores of America.

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POLYNESIA.

CHAPTER I.

On the Physical Aspect of the South Sea Islands, and the supposed Origin of their Inhabitants.

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Until very lately the islands of the Great Southern Ocean were hardly known to Europeans in any other light than that of maritime romance; the scene on which some of our most renowned seamen performed their part as discovererers, and where they attempted to introduce the benefits of civilisation among a new people. From their reports, at first somewhat deficient in accuracy, it was gradually made known that certain green spots on the bosom of the Pacific were occasionally visited by the

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weary sailor, whose eye was fatigued with the monotonous view of the vast deep, or who might be threatened with the diseases incident to a long voyage in a tropical climate. But as yet, the narrative of adventure in those distant waters served only, like the Arabian tales, to regale the imagination, by exhibiting pictures of a natural magnificence not witnessed in colder regions, and of a childish simplicity in the unsophisticated tribes by whom the several groups were inhabited. It was not till a period comparatively recent that the philosopher was invited to contemplate human nature at one of the most interesting epochs of its history; that the attention of the statesman was drawn to a rising commonwealth on the high way between the African continent and the western shores of America; or that the christian world was cheered with the prospect of a new province being added to the peaceful dominions of the church.

In no point of view, indeed, is this subject more interesting to the philanthropist than as it illustrates the benign effects of true religion on the mind of man, even in his rudest state, and when still surrounded by the strongest inducements to evil. The rapid improvement which, in the Sandwich, the Friendly, and the Society Islands, has followed the labours of missionary zeal, is not less gratifying as a reward for past exertions than when regarded as an encouragement to future endeavours. In those remote establishments the savage has been seen to rise, as it were by a single effort, from the lowest condition in which human nature is ever found, to the erect posture of a civilized being; from the worship of the most contemptible idols to a veneration of the true God; and from habits of the grossest barbarism to the pursuit of rational knowledge and the love of refined enjoyment.

About twenty years had elapsed from the time that Columbus discovered America, when Vasco Nunez de Balboa beheld from a mountain in the isthmus of Darien the immense expanse of the ocean spreading out before him towards the noonday sun. He was not aware that

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his eyes were then directed to a sea which stretches round the whole circumference of the globe, and contains, between the Cape of Good Hope and the shores whereon he stood, a multitude of islands, some of them equal to the mightiest kingdoms of the Old World, and one at least not inferior in extent to the whole of Europe. In truth, no scene could be more magnificent, whether as it respected the actual vision, or as it afforded scope to the fancy of an aspiring voyager. The various regions which lie scattered over its bosom possess all the advantages of a rich soil and a genial atmosphere, displaying at once the full beauty of spring combined with the luxuriance of autumn. Tufted groves mingle their foliage with the brilliant enamel of the meadows; while a perfume of exquisite sweetness embalms the air, which is constantly refreshed by delightful breezes from the ocean. The spontaneous productions of the earth exempt the inhabitants from all painful labour; the bread-tree yields a plentiful supply of food without demanding any severe return of care or toil; and the surrounding waters, rendered smooth by coral reefs, offer a great variety of fish, which can be obtained by means so simple as to resemble sport rather than an irksome drudgery.

It will nevertheless be acknowledged that, without the hand of man, the finest scenes of nature are imperfect. Even under the most propitious climates, and with the richest mould, if mind has not been exerted to improve or direct their energies, the result is unsatisfactory; often offensive to the eye and disappointing to the hopes. Wherever the human being, the lord of this portion of creation, has neglected to interpose his industry, the vegetable and animal tribes remain destitute of the excellence which they are capable of attaining; they even languish and decay though enjoying every physical advantage. In most parts of the world unvisited by the arts of civilized life, impenetrable woods cover the surface; the trees are seen mutilated by the storm, or rotting on the ground; the fertile plain is encumbered with noxious weeds, or soaked with stagnant water; and

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every thing that seems to grow is suffocated by an exuberant vegetation.

But as soon as the colonist from an enlightened country appears in such desolate regions, he eradicates the useless plants, and supplies their place with others fitted to give nourishment to himself and to the domestic animals whose service he employs. By removing all that is broken down and decayed, he relieves the air from putrefying effluvia; by opening a passage for the motionless waters, he gives to them an increasing limpidity, rendering them beneficial to all the tenants of his new abode; while the earth by receiving the kindly influence of the atmosphere becomes dry, and has its face soon covered with a lively verdure. The rays of the vertical sun no sooner begin to parch the surface of his field or vineyard, than he diffuses over them the refreshing water of the passing brook, and preserves the powers of vegetation. How beautiful and beneficent does nature become when improved by the industry of man, and what happy changes are produced by the arts of civilized life! The contrast now stated still meets the eye of the mariner, according as he happens to visit the wilds of New Zealand, or to approach the gentler shores of Otaheite, the fairest isle in the South Sea.*

These remarks will receive a striking illustration from comparing the present state of even that oceanic paradise, which owes so much to nature, with its condition as we find it described by the early navigators. The neat cottages which now display their white walls through the beautiful shrubberies wherewith they are surrounded; the ornamented gardens formed by the missionaries, who have also conveyed to them the finest fruits of Europe; and the regular fields which stretch along the valleys, protected by hedges or painted palisades, appear to the greatest advantage when seen in connexion with the wild scenery of the mountains and

* Buffon, Première Vue de la Nature. Forster's Observations made during a Voyage round the World (4to, Lond. 1778), p. 135.

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the dark shades of the native forests. In all cases, indeed, intellectual as well as physical, Providence bestows upon man only the raw material, leaving the improvement, whether for use or decoration, to his own industry and taste. Without culture the richest soil and the highest mental endowment are equally unprofitable; the one produces poisonous plants to deform the landscape and cover it with the shadow of death; the other gives power to the worst passions, disgraces the intercourse of life, and exposes the dearest interests of society to the most frightful hazards.

Polynesia, according to our acceptation of the term, comprehends the several groups which lie within fifty degrees on either side of the prime meridian, and between the fiftieth parallel of south, and the thirtieth of north latitude; embracing an extent of ocean equal to about 7000 miles in the one direction, and nearly 5600 miles in the other. The principal clusters are the Ladrone Islands; the Caroline; the Pelew; the Solomon; New Hebrides; the Fijee; the Sandwich; the Marquesas; the Low, Coral, or Dangerous Islands; the Society and Georgian group; the Navigators' Islands; the Friendly Islands; the Austral Isles; and New Zealand. In addition to these there are many detached islets or fragments of land which will demand our notice, such as Pitcairn's, Easter, Chatham, Fanning's, and others not less important in the history of South Sea discovery.

Viewed on a large scale, the various insular groups which may be traced between the eastern borders of the old continents and the western shores of the new, include a much wider range than those now mentioned, more especially if we take in the great Indian Archipelago, the islands of Sumatra, Borneo, and Java. But these vast tracts do not fall within the limits of our plan, which likewise rejects New Holland and its dependencies, now commonly known under the designation of Australia. With reference to the colour of the native inhabitants, the latter portion is by some French authors denominated Melanesia or the Black Islands, including, besides

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the principal one just mentioned, the settlement of Van Diemen's Land, New Guinea, New Ireland, New Hanover, the Solomon Islands, the Louisiade Archipelago, the New Hebrides, New Caledonia, and part of the Fijees. But we do not consider the complexion of the aborigines a sufficient ground of distinction in a work the object of which is not to give the physical history of mankind, nor to support any particular theory as to the natural causes of those varieties in colour and conformation which mark the usual scientific distributions of the human race. In relating the more prominent events that attended the progress of discovery, as well as those which have more recently given an interest to the introduction of religious knowledge and civilisation, we assume a wider principle as the basis of our narrative; restricting it only to such limits as convenience has suggested as suitable to the extent of a single volume. The other portions of Oceanica, that vast space, namely, which stretches from the sea of China to California, and from the isles of Japan to those of South Orkney, may hereafter invite the attention of our readers in a different form.

The name Polynesia was first applied to this interesting portion of the globe by the learned President de Brosses, in his History of Navigation, though two centuries earlier the same term had been used by certain authors with relation to the Moluccas, the Philippines, and some smaller groups situated still farther to the eastward. In several recent publications, the great islands of the Indian Archipelago are called the Hither Polynesia, while the more numerous clusters which extend into the bosom of the southern Pacific are described as the Farther Polynesia.

Before entering on the details of discovery and settlement, it may prove not less entertaining than instructive to give an outline of the physical characters and geographical distribution of the several islands which constitute that portion of Oceanica, more especially as connected with the two principal causes to which they are supposed to owe their present form; namely, the

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action of volcanoes, and the working of the small insect usually denominated the coral polypus.

Nature has unquestionably given to that section of the earth a prominent and very characteristic physiognomy, diversified by numerous inequalities on the surface, and distinguished by lofty mountains, the direction of which, from north to south, indicates a striking polarity in their structure. These chains, at the same time, generally present, about the middle of their course, a decided bend from west to east. The best marked among them is that formed by the Ladrone, the Caroline, and the Mulgrave group, and are probably associated, by means of those called St Augustin and some other links, with the archipelago of the Navigators, or that of the Friendly Islands. Even among the Carolines, where the Polynesian series turns due east, the particular masses lie north and south. Another great chain makes its appearance in Luçon, the largest of the Philippines, which passes through the island of Palawan into that of Borneo. The direction of that well-known branch is from north-west to south-east, and bounds on one side the basin of the Chinese Sea. In New South Wales the long line of the Blue Mountains extends to Van Diemen's Land, terminating in immense masses of basalt at South Cape. The fourth great chain takes its commencement at the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, and in its progress gives rise to Sumatra, Java, Timor, and others of less magnitude. It runs in the form of a bow from north-west to south-east, then due east; but it probably passes by Cape Diemen, where it can have no other direction than from north to south.

All the smaller archipelagos of Polynesia, too, lie north and south, of which New Caledonia and the New Hebrides form very distinct examples. The group of the Solomon Islands, bending from the south-east to the north-west, is continued in New Ireland and New Hanover. It often happens that the subordinate chains are individually terminated by a larger island than the others of which they are composed. For instance, Otaheite, Owhyhee, and Tierra del Espiritu Santo, are

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found at the extremity of a series, most of which present very contracted limits.

These analogies, if carefully noted, might, it is imagined, have facilitated the progress of discovery, and in particular have contributed to make each archipelago more easily recognised. By attentively marking the direction of a chain, navigators might have rendered themselves almost certain of discovering new islands; and even now they ought to employ the guidance of a principle which would, in some measure, obviate the hazard occasioned by those immense reefs so common in the Southern Pacific, which, in all probability, follow the direction of chains at the bottom of the ocean. These huge projections make a part of the exterior skeleton of the earth, and radiate like lines from a common centre, or more probably like ribs from the vertebral column of the human figure. At all events, there is a perceptible uniformity in the operation of the law to which these phenomena must be attributed; and when the physical cause is once ascertained, there cannot be any doubt that much practical benefit would result from anticipating its effects, even in cases where there is no other light to direct the judgment.

Among the thousands of islands which shoot up in the South Sea, some rise to a considerable elevation, and generally present a conical form. Many of them are basaltic, often containing in their centres wide tunnels or cavities, and, at other times, round lakes which might be taken for ancient craters. Although the occurrence of volcanic substances has not, on satisfactory evidence, been every where ascertained, there has already been discovered a greater number of volcanoes than in any other part of the world. In the annals of early navigation these are sometimes mentioned as the most splendid appearances in nature; while, on other occasions, they are described with a feeling of unmingled horror. On one place near New Guinea, the flames and smoke rise calmly over a fruitful country; but on the northern verge of the Marians, dreadful torrents of black lava darken the shore.

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All the low islands seem to have for their base a reef of coral rocks generally disposed in a circular form. The middle space is commonly occupied by a sheet of water, on the margin of which the sand is mixed with pieces of broken coral and other marine productions. These facts have been employed by speculative writers with the view of proving that all the islets must have originated in the labours of the diminutive insect already noticed, and been afterwards enlarged and raised above the surface of the ocean by the accumulation of light substances drifted to them by the action of the waves. It is, however, very remarkable, that among the islands so constituted, some are almost level with the sea, while others are elevated several hundred feet; though on the summits of these last are found masses of coral perforated in the same manner with those found at the water's edge. Now, as the animalcules which raise these submarine habitations cannot live above the face of the deep, it is manifest either that the Pacific has sunk to a lower level, or that the several islands have been raised by an expansive force acting from below. There can be no doubt that the latter agent ought to be assigned as the true cause of the phenomenon.

It is still a question whether the polypes originate the stoney bodies they inhabit, or whether they find them prepared for their occupation by the hand of nature. Forster, whose experience gives some weight to his opinions on this subject, was inclined to believe that the little creatures actually form the matter which composes the coral masses, and consequently that, by their means, new islands are in a constant process of formation. The great Captain Cook, after a careful investigation of facts, had arrived at the same conclusion. Dalrymple, on the other hand, thinks that these rocks take their rise at the bottom of the sea, from which they are detached by currents or tempests, and thrown on the sandbanks. This, no doubt, may take place in some localities; but the principle most assuredly cannot apply to those reefs which rise like walls in the midst of the ocean. Around New Holland, for example, the

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rocks in question ascend, like perpendicular ramparts, from a very great depth. Such structures, it is obvious, must derive their origin from the animals themselves, unless we attempt to account for them on the grounds of a new hypothesis, which intimates that they may grow in a manner similar to the common seaweed, and that the insects found on them are analogous to those which take up their abode on trees and herbs; a conclusion to which the arborescent appearance of some corals, and the fungous forms of others, are supposed to give a certain degree of countenance.

By some authors these animalcules are called saxigenous, or rock-making, polypes. They are supposed to begin their operations by selecting a suitable spot, such as the summit of a volcano, or the top of a submarine mountain. Having chosen their site, with a reference, it should seem, to an ultimate object, they work with incredible diligence until they reach the surface, above which, as we have already stated, their nature and habits do not permit them to proceed. Mr Lyell remarks, that the circular or oval forms of the numerous coral isles of the Pacific, with the lakes in their centre, naturally suggest the idea that they are nothing more than the crests of submarine volcanoes, having the rims and bottoms of their craters overgrown with coral. This opinion is strengthened by the conical shape of the islands, and the acute angle at which they plunge on all sides into the surrounding ocean. It has also been observed, that although within the circular reefs there is usually nothing discernible but a lagoon, the bottom of which is covered with coral, yet within some of these basins, rocks, composed of porous lava and other volcanic substances, rise up, resembling eminences of igneous origin which have been formed in an epoch not beyond the limits of human observation.*

It is stated by Mr Forster that the polypes raise their

* Lyell's Principles of Geology (4 vols 12mo, 5th edition, Lond. 1837), vol. iii. pp. 287, 288. Dalrymple's Historical Collection of Voyages and Discovery in the South Pacific Ocean (4to, Lond. 1770), p. 22.

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habitation gradually from a small base, always spreading more and more in proportion as the structure grows higher. The materials, he adds, are a kind of lime mixed with some animal substance. A few miles to the leeward of Turtle Island there was observed a considerable reef, over which the sea broke at all points, and no part of it was entirely under water. East and north-east of the Society group are numerous islets which are only partially raised above the surface; while in some clusters the elevated portions are connected by reefs occasionally dry at ebb-tide. The insects inhabiting these dikes appear as if desirous to shelter their dwelling from the impetuosity of the winds and the rage of the ocean; but as within the tropics the current of air commonly proceeds from one quarter, they, by instinct, endeavour to extend a ledge enclosing a lagoon, which is thereby entirely screened against the power both of the waves and of the breeze. This process, which is not inconsistent with the opinion entertained by Mr Lyell, is generally admitted to be the most probable cause whence have originated those low islands which stud the intertropical latitudes of the Great South Sea.*

But the High Islands, such as appear decidedly to have had an igneous origin, are more important, viewed as the habitations of man, than the coral ridges just described. It has been already remarked that nearly all the regions of the Pacific bear the most unequivocal marks of having been the scene of volcanic action on a vast scale, and that the prevailing features of the larger masses of land confirm the inference which may still be drawn from the imperfect traditions of the people. Some of the isles present volcanoes in a state of activity; others exhibit only the form and altitude which denote a similar origin in remote ages; while a third class display undoubted tokens of having been violently changed by the force of subterranean fire, if not by the more

* Forster's Observations, p. 149-151.

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sudden shock of an earthquake. Tanna and Pico belong to the first class; Otaheite, Huaheine, and Bolabola, are distinct specimens of the second; and Easter Island may be adduced as an example of the third. In this last all the rocks are black, burnt, and honeycombed; some have the appearance of slag; nay, even the soil, which is but thinly spread over the calcined masses, bears a close resemblance to dark-yellow ochre.*

Mr Williams, the author of an interesting work on the South Sea, divides the islands of Plutonic origin into two orders, the Mountainous and the Hilly. In the former, the height of the land varies from 2000 to 15,000 feet above the level of the sea, the towering summits gradually rising from their base till they are lost in the clouds. The sides of these magnificent elevations are clothed with bright verdure of various shades, blending together in a very striking manner the elements of grandeur, wildness, sublimity, and beauty. All the islands of this class exhibit indubitable marks of volcanic eruption. In many of them the rocks are composed of a fine-grained basalt; in others pumice is found, together with stones of varied appearance, which have evidently undergone the action of fire. It is clear, moreover, that all these islands have at one time been under water; for at the top of the highest peaks, coral, shells, and other marine substances, are seen in great abundance. The savage and romantic appearance of the rocks, their broken, abrupt, and irregular forms, also indicate that at some remote era they have been subjected to disruption by the power of some mighty agent affecting their interior.

The islands which fall under the denomination of Hilly, vary in height from 100 to 500 feet, and are, in a great degree, destitute of the volcanic phenomena which abound in the others. The rocks, which are said to resemble the aragonite of the Giant's Causeway, are supposed to have been originally coral, and to owe

* Forster's Observations, p. 153.

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their present hardness to the action of the atmosphere, as well as to that of water percolating from above through the mass while in a porous state.*

All the Society Islands and many others in the Pacific are surrounded by a belt of secreted rock, from two to twenty yards in width, and situated at a distance which varies from a few feet to more than a mile. Against this barrier the long rolling waves of the ocean are driven with a terrific violence, and towering in one sheet to an immense height, dash themselves upon it with majestic power, though without producing any perceptible effect. The water between the reef and the shore is placid and transparent, at the bottom of which, and in the sloping sides of the banks, an enchanting picture presents itself. Coral of every shape and of every hue, intermingled in the richest profusion, suggests to the imagination the idea of a submarine flower-garden; while among the branches of the madrepore, and the spreading leaves of other varieties, fish of every colour gambol about in conscious security.

But, in point of fact, the distinction now stated between mountainous and hilly does not apply to the physical principles according to which the several islands have been formed; for, as is well known, every one of them hitherto examined consists either of volcanic rocks or of limestone. With regard to the thickness of the coral masses, it has been thought that the species of polypus which contributes most to their formation, does not live where the water is deeper than twenty-five or thirty feet. But it is not improbable that the branched madrepores, which exist at very considerable depths, may lay the foundation of a reef, and raise the platform on which the others are built.

These conjectures, however, do not possess any strong claim upon our confidence, and are only entitled to be ranked with those other opinions which have been brought forward relative to the rate at which coral is supposed to grow in the vaults of the great deep. A

* Williams' Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands (8vo, Lond. 1837), p. 21.

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modern author observes that the tendency of polypes to multiply in the seas of warm climates is so great, that the bottom of the tropical ocean swarms with countless myriads of them, ever actively employed in constructing their small but enduring habitations. Almost every volcanic cone and ridge, under the surface of the ocean, is made the nucleus of a colony. The calcareous secretions are accumulated into enormous banks or reefs, sometimes stretching to a length of many hundred miles; and these continually rising to view in spots where they were unknown before, endanger the navigation of many parts within the torrid zone.*

There is reason to doubt whether the process be quite so rapid as these remarks might seem to establish. The period of observation has not yet been sufficiently extended to afford ground for any conclusions as to the rate or the precise mode in which such additions to the crust of the earth are effected. The latest surveys, indeed, appear to warrant the opinion that the growth of coral is not so quick as has been commonly imagined. During the late expedition to the Pacific, directed by Captain Beechey, no positive information could be obtained of any channel having been filled up within a given period; and it seems placed beyond doubt, that several reefs had remained more than half a century at nearly the same elevation, at least if measured by the flow of the tide. It is admitted, nevertheless, that the increase of coral limestone may vary greatly according to the situation of mineral springs; for, in volcanic countries, these are known to issue in considerable abundance at the bottom of the ocean. Examples occur even in the Mediterranean, where they sometimes cause the sea at great depths to be fresher than at the surface; a phenomenon which is said to be very common near some of the islands in the Pacific.†

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* Buckland's Geology and Mineralogy considered with Reference to Natural Theology (2 vols 8vo, Lond. 1836), vol. i. pp. 443, 444. Williams' Narrative, p. 29.

† Lyell, vol. iii. p. 282. Beechey's Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific (2 vols 8vo, Lond. 1831), vol. i. p. 258.

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The next question which naturally presents itself to the consideration of a philosophical inquirer is that which respects the origin and character of the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands. In the first place, it is clearly ascertained that there are two distinct races of men who, from a very remote period, have occupied Polynesia, whose physical qualities are different, and whose languages have hardly any elements in common. The one class bear a considerable resemblance to the negro tribes; having a black complexion, woolly hair, and depressed features. The other, from their colour and general appearance, seem to claim an affinity to the eastern Asiatics, and are supposed to have found their way, at an early age, from the Malayan Peninsula to those clusters of islands that gird the equator at a greater distance towards the east.

It has been said that a tabular view of certain words in the Malayan, the Asiatic, the American, and the Polynesian tongues, would probably show that at some remote period the inhabitants of these several parts of the world maintained frequent intercourse, or, at all events, that colonies from some one of them originally contributed to people the others. The striking analogy between sundry parts of speech, not less than the similarity of customs prevailing among the aborigines of Madagascar, the Malays, and the Eastern Islanders, would make manifest that they are essentially one people, or at least, that they had migrated from the same source. It is alleged, too, that in many points the language and traditions of the Americans so strongly resemble those of Asia as to lead to the inference that they also must have made their way from the eastern shores of the old continent.

But whether some of the tribes, whose motion from west to east across Behring's Straits we are now assuming, became the progenitors of the race who at present possess the Aleutian Islands; and whether, at some subsequent era, the settlers on the American coast were driven by the trade-winds to the Sandwich group, whence they

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afterwards proceeded to others southward of the line, are questions which cannot be determined with any degree of certainty. Nor is it more easy to decide whether those of them who, in the course of time, had penetrated so far down as the valleys of Chili and Peru, trusted themselves at length to the Pacific, peopled Easter Island, and continued in their progress towards the west till they met the tide of emigration flowing from Java and Sumatra, where the Malays are still found to constitute the majority of the inhabitants. At all events, from a variety of facts connected with those countries, it has been supposed by several authors, either that part of the people who dwell in the islands of the South Sea must have proceeded from America, or that certain tribes of Polynesians, at some former epoch, had accomplished a passage thither, and formed a permanent settlement.

Some writers have maintained that numerous skeletons discovered in the caverns of Kentucky and Tennessee are the remains of a Malay tribe; and this opinion seems to be founded on the circumstance, that some of the bodies were wrapped in feather cloaks similar to those used in the Sandwich and Fijee Islands, and also that the best defined specimens of art among the antiquities of Ohio are clearly of a Polynesian character. From these facts it has been inferred that the North Americans, South Sea Islanders, and Malays were formerly the same people, or descended from one common origin as natives of Eastern Asia.

As to the difficulties which must have attended the passage of the first inhabitants from the American continent to the most eastern of the islands in the Pacific, these, it is asserted, are not greater than would necessarily oppose the migration of an equally rude people from the Society to the Sandwich Archipelago; and yet the identity of the inhabitants of these two clusters has never been disputed. It is, indeed, by no means obvious which of the two portions now mentioned of the Farther Polynesia was first colonized. Evidence of a great antiquity may be adduced in favour of both; but Mr Ellis, no mean

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judge, is, for various reasons, disposed to conclude that the Sandwich Islands were settled before the Society, the Georgian, and the Friendly, on the opposite side of the equator. Their genealogies, he remarks, extend much farther back; and several names are used in Otaheite and its dependencies, which seem to have been borrowed from Owhyhee as a parent state. If, then, according to this hypothesis, it be supposed that any part of the American continent was planted by a maritime people, whether Malayan or Japanese, a portion of the same tribe who settled in Nootka, and whose relics are said to have been discovered in Tennessee, might possibly proceed at a later period to the Sandwich Islands, and from thence, in different ages, spread over the whole of Eastern Polynesia.

Zuniga, the learned author of a history of the Philippine Isles, has urged, with considerable ingenuity, a number of reasons in support of the conclusion that the Polynesians must originally have emigrated from the American continent. For example, he draws confirmation to his opinion from the singular circumstance that the names of places in the interior of South America are very similar to those of the Philippines. A great many other words, it is added, are either actually of Malayan derivation, or assimilate closely to that language. In examining the structure of the two tongues, he felt himself compelled to adopt the opinion that they flow from one source; and he affirms, accordingly, that the Indians resident in the Philippines are descended from the aborigines of Chili and Peru.*

The facts stated by this writer, though somewhat questionable on philological grounds, are not only admitted by more recent inquirers, but are even employed by them to establish the position that the Indo-Americans and Polynesians are one people. On this head, indeed, there seems to be little difference of opinion; but while Zuniga and perhaps Mr Ellis maintain that

* Historia de les Isles Philippinas.

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the progenitors of the latter tribes must have proceeded from Mexico, others pronounce such a conclusion to be inadmissible for the following reasons:—First, It implies that the inhabitants of the western coast of America were a maritime community, though, by the very nature of their country, they seem to have been at all times precluded from navigation and commerce; and, secondly, It is based on the groundless assumption, that not only were they addicted to the sea, but also that they must have been in the habit of making long voyages into the Pacific. Besides, though it is not improbable that a single canoe belonging to Easter Island, driven accidentally off the land by a westerly gale, might, in the course of a few weeks, reach the American continent, it is almost certain, that out of a thousand sailing from Chili, not one would discover that diminutive spot in the midst of the waves.*

On the other hand, the Malays have long been distinguished for their enterprise as a nautical people, as well as for their adventures in distant commerce. During several ages, they have had a fishery on the northern coast of New Holland, whither they resort annually with a large fleet; and, in such circumstances, it is extremely probable that chance, or the indulgence of a natural curiosity, would carry some of them to the New Hebrides or even the Friendly Islands. We learn besides, on the authority of La Perouse, that westerly winds are as frequent as those from the eastward, in a zone of not less than seven or eight degrees on each side of the equator; and, moreover, that in those regions they are so variable as to render it little more difficult to make a voyage in the one direction than in the other. The observations of this distinguished seaman have been amply confirmed by the reports of later voyagers; and, in point of fact, the uniformity of the trade-winds near the equinoctial line is no longer maintained by the best writers on hydrography. Hence,

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* Lang's View of the Origin and Migrations of the Polynesian Nation, 12mo, Lond. 1834.

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it is inferred, that the western winds of the Indian seas having once driven the Malays into the Pacific, these adventurous sailors would subsequently pass from one island to another, until they peopled the numerous groups of that extensive ocean.

But it is farther maintained by another class of authors, on the grounds of philology, tradition, physical properties, and distinctive habits, that the South Sea Islands could not have been peopled from America. Their reasoning generally proceeds on the assumption, that between the natives of the Pacific and the inhabitants of Mexico and Peru, there is no such resemblance in the particulars now stated as would be required to establish the conclusion of their having sprung from the same lineage; whereas, with reference to these grand characteristics, there appears satisfactory evidence that, at least, the light-coloured tribes of Polynesia must have migrated directly from the Asiatic shores.*

First, there is the distinction of caste, the most ancient, and, at the same time, the most remarkable feature of society among the people of Eastern Asia. This principle of discrimination, as applied to the several orders of the inhabitants, prevails to a great extent in the South Sea; and at Otaheite, more especially, as we shall afterwards have occasion to observe, it was wont to interfere with the most ordinary transactions of life. In all the Friendly Islands, the several castes are not less minutely defined; and, as elsewhere, the priestly class rank so high, that on certain occasions their chief takes precedence of the king.

Next may be mentioned the singular institution of Taboo, which is also regarded as having had its rise in Asia. This restriction, it is well known, extends to persons, places, and things; and whatever is subjected to its operation acquires for the time a character of sacredness which cannot be neglected without incurring the severest penalty. In some cases, abstractedly from the religious

* Lang's Polynesian Nation, p. 5, &c.

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motive, it is allowed to have been necessary as well as politic. For example, after the national festivals, at one time so frequent in all the islands, and at which such quantities of provisions were consumed as to threaten a general famine, the taboo was imposed during some months on certain articles of food, which could not otherwise have been preserved. In New Zealand, the seed-potatoes, always separated in harvest from the rest of the stock, are placed in a consecrated storehouse; and every person found stealing from such a depot is visited with the last punishment of the law.

In the third place, there is practised in the Friendly, the Fijee, and the Society Islands, the rite of circumcision, which, on a high authority, we can distinctly trace to an Asiatic province. It is not, indeed, regarded in the South Sea as a religious ceremony, but perpetuated merely as an ancient custom of which no account can be given, and for the use of which no reason is assigned.

We pass over some of the other proofs adduced in support of the hypothesis that the Polynesians must have migrated from Asia, because several of the usages on which they are founded appear to be common to the greater number of barbarians in all parts of the world. It is very remarkable, however, that in the Fijee Islands the principal wife must be strangled at her husband's death, and buried with him; a practice which, without any charge of hasty reasoning, may be attributed to the pride and jealousy of Asiatic manners. The suttees of Hindostan, it is more than probable, have afforded at once the example and the authority.

In addition to the facts now mentioned, there is, we are assured, a general tradition among the islanders of the South Sea that the first inhabitants came from lands in the north-west. Bolatoo, the imaginary paradise of the Friendly Isles, is supposed to be situated in that region of the earth, and is venerated both as the cradle of their ancestors and the resting-place of their souls. In confirmation of this remark, it is stated that Tonga, the name of the largest island in their group, signifies

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East both in the Chinese and Polynesian languages; and this term will not appear inappropriate as the designation of a territory which the first settlers had reached in a voyage from the borders of Asia.

Nor has it ever been denied that, in their physical conformation and general character, the natives of the Eastern Pacific bear a strong resemblance to the Malays. The same cast of countenance prevails throughout many of the islands; a circumstance of much more weight, perhaps, than any similarity of dress or mode of living. Mr Marsden has observed that the original clothing of the Sumatrans is the same with the material found in the South Sea, and which in Europe is usually called Otaheitan cloth. The chewing of betel, too, has been detected many thousands of miles distant from India; a country where both the root and the habit of using it are thought to have originated. But such coincidences, though corroborative of an argument based on firmer ground, are too slight to support a conclusion independently of historical monuments or a distinct tradition. The same observations will apply to the inferences drawn from the manner of sitting at food, and the exclusion of females from their meals, because these are practices which present nothing peculiar, and are in no degree characteristic of any one family of savages.

We therefore agree with those who lay more stress on the structure of their language, as being at once less open to objection and much better calculated to convince. The identity of the tongues spoken in the different groups of the South Sea Islands was observed by Captain Cook, as well as the striking likeness between these dialects and those of the Indian Archipelago. It is now, indeed, the prevailing opinion, that in the general character, as well as in the particular form and genius of the innumerable languages spoken within the limits of this latter range, there is a remarkable resemblance, while all of them differ widely from such as are used in every other portion of the world. This observation, we are assured, may be extended to all those regions, from the

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north-western extremity of Sumatra to the shores of New Guinea, from Madagascar to the Philippines, and even to the remotest islands of Polynesia on the south.*

A similar conclusion appears to have been formed by La Perouse, who, at first, could perceive no difference between the language of the people in the Navigators' and that of the natives in the Society and Friendly Islands; and who afterwards, upon a closer examination, discovered that they spoke only dialects of the same tongue. A fact which contributed to establish the accuracy of this inference was supplied by a young man on board his ship, who was born in Luçon, near Manilla, and who could understand and interpret most of the words they uttered. Now, it is known that the Tagayan, Talgal, and, in short, all the forms of speech employed in the Philippines, are derived from the Malay; and this language, more widely spread than those of the Greeks and Romans, he found to be common to the numerous tribes who inhabit the small islands on either side of the equator. Hence, it appeared to him in the light of a truth demonstrated, that these several nations are derived from Malayan colonies, who, at very remote periods, must have conquered the lands they now possess; and perhaps even the Chinese and Egyptians, whose antiquity is so much vaunted, are modern, compared to these interesting islanders.†

But it has been justly observed, that an attempt to ascertain which of the Polynesian dialects should be considered the parent stock, must prove as fruitless as would be that of determining which of the Teutonic tongues gave birth to the others. To this question their subsequent degree of improvement has no direct relation. We must be content to regard the insular language as original, in the ordinary acceptation of the word, implying no more than such a degree of obscurity as would render abortive every attempt to trace the

* Lang's Polynesian Nation, p. 18.

† Voyage de la Perouse autour du Monde (4 tom. 8vo, Paris, 1798), tome iii. p. 277, &c.

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line of its derivation. With the monosyllabic vocables of the nearest continent, its terms, mostly dissyllabic, are wholly unconnected, although it is admitted that, in their grammatical arrangement, some analogies may be discovered; while, with reference to the languages which prevail on the western coast of South America, from which Easter Island is not very remote, the slightest affinity does not appear. We are ignorant even of the general direction in which it may itself have spread over the Indian Archipelago. It may be presumed that its progress was from the west towards the east; and yet, some of the most copious and artificial dialects are found among the Philippines, at a great distance from Sumatra, Java, and the peninsula of Malacca, usually esteemed the seats of the parent speech.*

It is worthy of notice, at the same time, that the Malayan is not held to be the source whence the dialects of the South Sea Islands have immediately proceeded. Their connexion, it is maintained, is merely that of sisterhood; and although, from accidental advantages, the difference between them has become so great, that, on a superficial view, the former might be thought to belong to a distinct family, yet a comparison of its most simple terms with those of the less cultivated dialects, will furnish abundant evidence of their original consanguinity. In the more familiar words, the coincidence is frequent and unequivocal; and in those instances where it appears to fail, the dissimilitude often arises from the customary employment of synonymous expressions, one of which, in preference to the other, has happened to prevail in particular islands. Allowance must also be made for peculiar modes of utterance; it being usual, in some districts, to give the full effect to the consonants, whilst, in others, they are liquefied to a soft and almost vowel sound.†

The affinity here supposed to exist between the Ma-

* Miscellaneous Works of William Marsden, F. R. S., &c. (4to, Lond. 1834), p. 7, &c.

† Ibid. p. 9.

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layan and Polynesian tongues, is tacitly referred to their common origin in some older language spoken by the people of Eastern Asia. In endeavouring to ascertain the country whence the lighter-complexioned inhabitants of Sumatra and the adjoining islands must have proceeded, it is natural to turn to the nearest continent; and, in support of the opinion that they migrated thence, it may be stated that all the descriptions with which we have been furnished of the people of Siam and the Burmese empire, represent them, in point of colour, features, and other personal qualities, as bearing a close resemblance not to the Malays only, but to all the other long-haired tribes of the archipelago. Besides these natural appearances, which, in most cases, would be thought sufficient to justify the belief of an original identity of race, there are practices of a peculiar kind, unknown in other parts of the world, followed by the Polynesians in common with the Indo-Chinese. Among these may be enumerated the habit of filing and blackening the teeth, eradicating the hairs of the face and body, and distending the lobes of the ears. In war also, the usage equally prevails of carrying a number of sharp-pointed stakes to fasten in the ground for the purpose of impeding the pursuit of an enemy. Even the custom of tattooing the limbs, although not observed among the Malays, nor any of the civilized tribes, is still retained in several of the Philippine Islands, as well as in some of those which lie near the western coast of Sumatra.

Notwithstanding the obscurity which continues to hang over this subject, there is no doubt that an affinity subsists between the inhabitants of the Indian Archipelago and those of the more distant Polynesia; and when all circumstances are duly weighed, it may not seem unreasonable to conclude that the Southern Islands have been colonized both directly, through the medium of the Malay establishments on either side of Torres Straits, and also by means of casual migrations into the northern parts of America and a subsequent departure from the same continent in a lower latitude.

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The question of origin has been examined with considerable success by Mr Williams, the late missionary, who, in regard to the copper-coloured Polynesians, perceives no difficulty. Their physical conformation, their general character, and the Malay countenance, furnish, he thinks, indubitable evidence of their Asiatic origin. He adverts, likewise, to the proofs already adduced, arising from the similarity of the caste of India and the taboo of the South Sea Islands; the sameness of the opinions which prevail respecting women, and the treatment they receive in Bengal and Otaheite, more especially the common practice of forbidding them certain kinds of food, or to partake of any in the presence of men; their inhuman conduct to the sick; and the immolation of the wives at the funeral of their husbands. The argument is, moreover, strengthened by a reference to the language of the Malays and Polynesians, in which, it is maintained, there is a great resemblance. Many of the words are the same in all the dialects of the several insular groups; but the identity is very remarkable in the speech of the New Zealanders, Rarotongans, and others, who introduce the hard consonants and nasal utterance.

Nor was this intelligent author ignorant of the objections usually urged against his hypothesis, namely, the distance of the Malay coast from the Society Islands; the prevalence of easterly winds within the tropics; and the unfitness of canoes for performing so long a voyage. In reference to the first, it is admitted that the distance would prove an insuperable obstacle, were there not the means of accomplishing the run by stages comparatively short. For example, assuming that the first settlers in the southern isles of the Pacific had proceeded from the Malay coast or Sumatra, they would reach Borneo after a sail of only 300 miles; and then, by crossing the Straits of Macassar, not more than 200 miles broad, they would arrive at Celebes. From thence to New Guinea the distance is about 400 miles; but there intervene the two large islands of Bessy and Ceram.

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The New Hebrides might next be attained by similar movements, whence the voyage to the Fijees, the Friendly, the Navigators', the Harvey, the Society, and all the remoter clusters might be performed even in such vessels as the natives at present possess.

In reaching New Zealand from Tongataboo or the Fijee Islands, little difficulty would be experienced. The distance is about 1200 miles; but if the wind happened to be from the north-east, which is a frequent occurrence, the voyage could be performed in a few days. The missionary's own boat was on one occasion driven from Otaheite to Atiu, and on another from Rarotonga to Tongataboo, a distance altogether of 1500 miles. He mentions also, that some natives of Aitutaki had been drifted in a single canoe to Proby's Island, which is situated 1000 miles westward of their own.

As to the prevalence of the easterly trade-winds, deemed by some a conclusive argument against the Asiatic origin of the South Sea Islanders, the difficulty is by no means insuperable. Every two months there are westerly gales, which continue some time; and in February there are what the natives call *toerau maehaa*, or the westerly twins, when the wind blows from that point several days, and then veers round the compass. This breeze from the west sometimes continues a fortnight. The longest voyage from Sumatra to Otaheite would not exceed 700 miles; and Mr Williams himself, in his first trip to the Navigators' Islands, sailed 1600 miles due east in a few days.

It ought to be observed, too, in respect to the means possessed by the Malays in former times, that long before they were visited by Europeans there were some powerful maritime states in the Indian Archipelago. In 1573, the King of Acheen appeared with a fleet, which is described as covering the Straits of Malacca. He ordered an attack upon three Portuguese frigates that were in the road protecting some vessels loaded with provisions; and the onset was executed with such a furious discharge of artillery, that the ships were in-

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stantly destroyed with all their crews. In 1582, the same king again appeared before Malacca with a flotilla of 150 sail; and in 1615, one of his successors attacked the settlement with an armament including 500 vessels of various size and 60,000 men.*

It is obvious that a people so far advanced in the art of navigation could easily accomplish a voyage to the remotest parts of the Pacific. Nay, we are informed by a recent authority, that the northern coast of New Holland has been known to the Malays many years; and a fleet, to the number of 200 proas, annually leaves Macassar for the fishery there. It sails in January, during the *westerly* monsoon, and coasts from island to island till it reaches the north-eastern shore of Timor, when it steers east and south south-east, which courses carry them to the coast of New Holland. The body of the fleet then proceeds *eastward*, leaving here and there a division of fifteen or sixteen proas, under the command of an inferior rajah, who is the only person provided with a compass. After having fished along the shore in that direction, until the westerly monsoon breaks up, they return; and by the last day of May, each detached squadron leaves the coast without waiting to collect into one body.†

The class of men to whom these remarks apply, and who, by the consent of all travellers, are in respect of origin associated with the natives of the north-eastern borders of Asia, are distinguished, as we have already mentioned, by complexions of a yellowish-brown colour, with faces somewhat flat, and long black hair. But this race does not possess the whole of the intertropical islands; on the contrary, there is another, perhaps the more ancient of the two, who, in their physical characters, approach to the least favoured portion of the African

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* Marsden's History of Sumatra, p. 431. Williams' Missionary Enterprises, p. 510.

† King's Narrative of a Survey of the Intertropical and Western Coasts of Australia (2 vols 8vo, Lond. 1827), vol. i. p. 135.

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negroes, having skins nearly black, projecting jaws, with hair crisp and frizzled, and growing in tufts. These occupy not only New Holland and the group of New Guinea, but also several islands in both the Hither and Farther Polynesia, and even the interior of the Malayan Peninsula itself. Though they have national appellations in different parts of the Pacific, they are known, as a body, by the general term Papúah. By the Spaniards, who first revealed their existence to Europeans, they were called Negritos, and by our own early navigators they were distinguished as New Guinea negroes. Their numerous languages, varying, as it should seem, with every tribe, bear no radical affinity to those used by the fairer descriptions of the Polynesian family; although, in consequence of plundering expeditions and the abstraction of females, many words peculiar to the latter have been adopted by the black population.

The two classes seem to be divided by the prime meridian, or that which passes through the 180th degree from Greenwich. Part of the Fijees, together with those islands which are situated between them and the eastern coast of New Holland, are inhabited by the negro race; more especially, New Guinea, New Britain, New Ireland, the Archipelago of Louisiade, the Solomon Isles, New Caledonia, the New Hebrides, and part of the Ladrones. There is, indeed, in most of the islands a partial intermixture of the races; but the geographical distinction now stated will be found to hold with sufficient accuracy. A difficulty still remains in regard to the singular fact, that a nation so very different should be interposed between the Malays and the islands to which so large a body of them have at various periods migrated. To account for this circumstance it has been suggested, that the negro race may have possessed the whole of the islands prior to the invasion of the copper-coloured tribes from the north-west, and that the latter, being a more civilized and warlike people, succeeded in extirpating them from the smaller groups on both sides of the equator.

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Mention is likewise made of a third order of natives, who generally occupy the interior and less accessible parts of the islands, especially of those situated to the eastward of Borneo, and are known in European literature under the ambiguous names of Haraforas and Alfoorees. Although frequently mentioned by such Spanish, Dutch, and English authors as have written on the more distant regions of the South Sea, our information respecting them is still extremely limited, and no vocabulary of their speech has been hitherto obtained. It may, at the same time, be suspected, that some of the ruder tribes, of whose dialects no specimens have been collected, such as the Dayaks and Idaan of Borneo, are in fact the same description of people with those to whom the term Alfoorees is elsewhere applied; and that, under a general designation, they are no other than the unconverted natives who have been driven into the mountains by the Malays, their Mohammedan persecutors, who seized the lowlands of their country, which they still possess. In person, complexion, and hair, they are said to resemble the fairer Polynesian race; having no physical peculiarities in common with the negrito tribes, however nearly they may approach them in their habits of life.*

Having presented a sketch of the country and people to whom our attention is to be more particularly directed in the course of this volume, we shall now proceed to describe the condition in which they were found when first visited by Europeans.

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* On the subjects treated in this chapter, the reader will find fuller information in the works of Forster, Marsden, and Lang, already cited, and also in Malte-Brun, vol. iii. p. 414-421. Reland's Dissertations, vol. iii. diss. xi. De Linguis Insularum Quarundam Orientalium. Crawfurd's History of the Indian Archipelago, vol. ii. p. 8-120. Archæologia, vols vi. viii. Dr Leyden "On the Languages and Literature of the Indo-Chinese Nations," in Asiatic Researches, vol. x. Sir William Jones' Works. The History of Java, by Sir S. Raffles. Bruckner's Javanese Grammar. And above all, the volumes of the Missionaries, to whom Polynesian languages and antiquities have become a regular study.

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CHAPTER II.

On the Condition in which the Inhabitants were found when first discovered by Europeans.

Simple State in which Natives were found—Account of their Habits and Usages—No Works of ancient Civilisation—Mythology and Traditions—Form of Government—Sanctity attached to Person of King—Accession of Son at Birth—Captives made Slaves—Various Classes—Inflated Language of the Court—Spirit of Government—Code of Laws—Its Connexion with Religion—Theological Notions—Traditions of the Deluge—Objects of Worship—Notions of a Future State—Immortality of Animals—Natives possess good Abilities—Physical Qualities—Colour—Strength—Marriage Ceremonies—Polygamy—Sorcery—Divination—Augury—Sufferings resulting from Superstition—Areois.

The natives of the South Sea Islands, those especially which fall under the denomination of the Eastern or Farther Polynesia, were found by the first discoverers in a state of great simplicity, and, as it might seem, in possession of more than the usual share of human happiness. The climate, it has been already stated, has all the charms which belong to the fairest scenes of poetical fancy. A mild sky sheds down upon the inhabitants the sweetest influences of the atmosphere; the earth yields to them at all seasons a plentiful supply of the necessaries of life, and even offers, at the expense of little labour, a great variety of luxuries. The scenery of the principal islands is described as delightful in the highest degree, consisting of the most beautiful alternations of hill and valley, and exhibiting the rare feature of mountains rising to the clouds covered almost to their

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summits with fine trees or flowering shrubs. There, the richest verdure is contrasted, on one side with precipitous rocks of a dark hue, and on the other with the ever-changing face of the vast ocean which dashes its long waves on the coral beach. Otaheite, in particular, appeared to the eyes of the first Europeans who landed on its shores as an earthly paradise, the abode of contentment and repose, the asylum of all those mild virtues which had fled from the disputes and rivalry of civilized nations.

But simplicity of manners, and even a gentle disposition, are not always accompanied with innocence. It was accordingly soon discovered that the vices incident to society every where else, were not unknown even in those primitive communities, among whom, it might be imagined, the more turbulent passions could find no excitement, and where the artificial wants of life would not as yet have roused either avarice or ambition. Like all savages they were much addicted to theft, which they seemed to consider in the light of an ingenious dexterity, rather than as a practice that any one could justly condemn. Influenced by a feeling similar to that which was made a part of education in ancient Sparta, they set more value on a thing they had succeeded in stealing, though of no utility, than upon a useful article if obtained as a gift, or in the ordinary process of barter. Their worst actions, too, like those of uneducated children, were perpetrated without any warning from conscience that they were doing wrong; and though, as in the case of infanticide, reflection on an atrocious deed might bring regret, it never created any compunction. The usages of their fathers stood in the place of a moral law; and whatever had been done in the old days, might, they concluded, be done again with perfect impunity. Their emotions, on all occasions, appear to have been quick, but exceedingly transient. A rebuke reached their hearts, chased away the smile from the countenance, and made them assume for a moment an attitude of the utmost seriousness; but, having no depth of re-

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flection, they could not long suppress their merriment, nor preserve the decorum which they might feel due to the presence of their visiters. In them the moral sense was not fully formed; and, less advanced than the Greeks and Romans in the first age of the gospel, their judgments as to right and wrong were not so sufficiently distinct as to convey either excuse or accusation.

Of this interesting people we have not the means of attaining a more minute acquaintance than may be acquired from examining their present condition. The antiquities of an illiterate tribe must be sought, not in modern records, which are exceedingly imperfect, but in their usages and the ruins of their ancient structures. With respect to the Society Islands, it has been observed by a late traveller that no monuments are found which might serve to indicate that they were ever inhabited by a race much farther advanced in civilisation than the natives who first became known to Davis, Wallis, Cook, and Bougainville. In Easter Island, no doubt, there are the remains of those gigantic busts which excited the surprise of the Dutch navigators; but these have now suffered so much either from the hand of time or the more violent attacks of the inhabitants, that their original shape can scarcely be determined. The early narratives represent them as being dispersed generally over the whole island; though when Cook touched there, the number was considerably reduced, and he himself saw only two or three standing near the landing-place. His companions, who travelled over the country, observed many more, some of them twenty-seven feet in height, and about nine in breadth across the shoulders, and each figure having on its head a large cylindrical block of a red colour, wrought perfectly round. They were made of a gray stone, apparently different from any belonging to the island; and the magnitude was such as rendered it extremely difficult to account for their erection, when viewed with a reference to the very limited mechanical powers at present possessed by the natives. Cook had no hesitation in main-

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taining the opinion that they must have been formed by an older race of men, of whom no other record now remains; and this conclusion seemed to him confirmed by the fact, that their successors have neither skill nor industry enough to prevent them from falling into hopeless ruin. Besides these colossal statues, which were acknowledged to bear the marks of a remote antiquity, many little heaps of stones were seen piled up along the coast; and some of the savages also possessed human figures, carved with considerable neatness, composed of pieces of wood about two feet long.*

Confining our attention to the Society and Georgian Islands, we discover no evidence that they have ever been occupied by an older or more polished people than the present inhabitants. But there are many proofs that the race which we now find scattered among the several groups, between the meridian of New Zealand and the 130th degree of west longitude, must have been in ancient times much more numerous than they were when recently discovered by Europeans. In each green valley, in the recesses of the highest mountains, on the sides of the hills, and on the brow of almost every promontory, monuments of former generations are still seen in great abundance. Stone pavements of their dwellings and court-yards, foundations of houses, and ruins of family-temples, are of frequent occurrence. But as these relics are precisely similar to the instruments and edifices found among them when our ships first touched their shores, they merely establish the fact that the Polynesians were once a more powerful people than they have been since the middle of the last century.†

They have amongst them, also, certain historical and mythological ballads, which are said to be well adapted to every order of society and every period of life. Such compositions, called *udes,* are recited by the children,

* An Historical Account of the Circumnavigation of the Globe (Edinburgh Cabinet Library, No. XXI.), p. 371.

† Ellis' Polynesian Researches (4 vols 12mo, Lond. 1831), vol. i. p. 102; vol. iii. p. 93.

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who are likewise taught to act them, for in some cases they have a pantomimic or dramatic character. At all events, they are highly figurative and impassioned; and what adds greatly to their value, while it proves their antiquity, is the fact that they contain many words which are no longer in use. Ignorant of chronology and the importance of dates, the authors pretend not to convey any knowledge of the past, or to preserve the slightest order in their narrative of the incidents on which they have fixed as the groundwork of their poems. So far as we can judge from the scanty specimens which the missionary press has supplied to the European reader, the descriptions refer chiefly to the ordinary occupations of their simple life, or to those more animating scenes which were from time to time connected with the ceremonies of their idolatrous worship. They had one song for the fisherman, another for the canoe-builder, a third for cutting down the tree, and one for the launching of the little vessel. The rites of their mythology were also wrapped up in a veil of poetical fiction; but as the strains employed on such occasions were equally mystical and obscure, they were discontinued as soon as the people renounced paganism. With all their imperfections, these traditionary songs possessed a species of authority, and were often appealed to for the purpose of determining any disputed point in their annals. It is added, that the fidelity of public recitals, viewed as the standard of historical truth, was not unfrequently questioned by the orators or chroniclers of two opposite parties; and the disputes which followed were carried on with great vehemence and pertinacity. As they had no written records to which either of the antiquaries could refer, they persevered in opposing one oral tradition to another, and thereby involved themselves in debates which could only be terminated by the fatigue of the speakers or the impatience of their audience. In most cases, however, a happy allusion to some verse in a popular poem set the matter at rest; and it is supposed that many facts of great antiquity

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have been transmitted from one generation to another in the loose vehicle of national rhymes.

It might be inferred, perhaps, from the fixed and consolidated form of government which prevails throughout the islands of the South Sea, that their political institutions are not of recent origin. The king is invested with supreme power, which appears to descend in his family according to the rights of primogeniture, and may be inherited by sons or daughters. There was a queen in Otaheite, when it was discovered by Wallis, and Pomare the Second was succeeded by Aimata. In all respects, the sovereign authority was wont to be closely connected with the national religion; the idols and the monarch were understood to divide between them the fealty of mankind. The prince even, on certain occasions, represented the divinity, receiving the homage and listening to the entreaties uttered by the crowds of supplicants; and, at other times, he officiated as the high-priest, offering up their prayers and thanksgiving. As in similar states of society in ancient Europe, the regal and sacerdotal functions were commonly united in the same individual; the genealogy of the reigning house was piously traced back to the very origin of the tribe; and in some of the islands, the early sovereigns were supposed to have descended from the gods themselves. Hence, it almost necessarily followed that their persons should be esteemed sacred, and their rank as well as office regarded by the people with the utmost veneration.

A singular inconvenience resulted from the feeling of sanctity now mentioned. Every thing in the least degree connected with the king or queen became also in some measure sacred, and could not be applied to any ordinary purpose. Not only the houses in which they dwelt, the canoes in which they sailed, but even the ground whereon they trode, and the syllables which composed their names, became so far holy that they could not be appropriated to any common use. On account of this peculiarity, the royal personages never

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entered any house that was not specially dedicated to their residence, nor walked on any piece of land not included in their hereditary possessions. To prevent the evils apprehended from the contact of either sovereign, these exalted individuals at no time appeared in public except on men's shoulders. They even performed their longest journeys in the same manner, proceeding at a pace of not less than six miles an hour, and changing their bearers at regular stages. In Owhyhee, whenever such chiefs as were supposed to be of divine extraction passed along the public way, the people prostrated themselves with their faces pressing on the ground. In Otaheite, on all occasions, when the king approached, his subjects, stripping down their upper garments, uncovered the body as low as the waist; a homage which was paid to no other except the gods, and to the places consecrated to their service. When passing these last, every individual, whether on foot or sailing in a canoe, removed whatever article of dress he wore on his shoulders and breast; and by this act he expressed the utmost respect to the deities of his country, to their altars, and to the spot where their presence was supposed to be more especially vouchsafed.

The reverence now described was required from all ranks, including even the father and mother of his majesty; indeed, they were generally the first to uncover themselves when his approach was announced. If by any accident the king appeared before the robe could be laid aside, it was instantly torn off, rent in pieces, and an atonement required. Had any individual hesitated to perform this ceremony, his life would have been exposed to the greatest danger; for to refuse this homage was considered not only as a proof of disaffection to the monarch, but as rebellion against the government, and impiety towards those invisible powers under whose protection both were placed.

An allusion has just been made to the reverence usually paid to the King of Otaheite by his own parents; a circumstance which can only be explained by referring to a

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singular usage connected with the law of primogeniture in that and some other of the surrounding islands. This was the abdication of the throne by the reigning sovereign as soon as his first son was born; and whatever might be his age, his influence in the state, or the aspect of political affairs, the moment the heir came into the world, he relapsed into a subject; the babe was proclaimed the master of the people; the royal name was conferred upon him; and the father was the first to acknowledge his supreme power by kissing his feet and pronouncing his title. A public herald was then despatched round the island with the flag of the infant monarch, which being unfurled at the proper places, the accession was duly proclaimed. If this emblem was allowed to pass, the chiefs were understood to concur in the expediency of the measure which it announced; but if the banner was insulted by them, or the bearer impeded in his progress, their conduct was regarded as an act of rebellion, or even as an open declaration of war.

Vancouver relates that he witnessed the ceremony of homage paid to Otoo, Pomare the Second, by his grandfather. A pig and a plaintain leaf were instantly procured, the old man stripped to the waist, and when the boy appeared in front of the marquee, the aged parent, whose limbs were tottering under the weight of years, met his grandson, and on his knees acknowledged his own inferiority by presenting this token of submission; which, so far as could be discovered, was offered with a mixture of profound respect and paternal regard. The ceremony seemed to have little effect on the young monarch, who appeared to notice the humble posture of his grandsire with the most perfect indifference. This mode of behaviour, the navigator remarks, is to be attributed to the force of education rather than to a want of the proper sentiments of affection.*

* Vancouver's Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, and round the World, performed in the years 1790-1795 (3 vols 4to. Lond. 1798), vol. i. p. 109.

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It is deserving of notice, that, notwithstanding the relinquishment of sovereign power, every important affair, whether foreign or domestic, was transacted by the old king and those who had been formerly associated with him as his counsellors. But all edicts and official deeds were issued in the name and behalf of the royal child, for whom, in point of fact, his father directed the government in the capacity of regent. Nor was this singular principle of succession confined to the family of the monarch. It prevailed likewise among those orders which correspond to what in civilized countries we should call the nobility and gentry—the *arii* and the *raatiras*—and in both these classes the first-born son, immediately after his birth, received the honours, the titles, and possessions which had till that moment been enjoyed by his parent. There is no small difficulty in the attempt to discover the origin and design of a usage so singular; and unless we adopt the conjecture of one of the most learned among the missionaries, we shall certainly not arrive at any satisfactory conclusion. He supposes that it arose from a wish on the part of powerful families to secure to the next heir an undisputed succession to the dignity and power of his ancestors; and if this was the object of the practice at its original institution, no one can doubt that it was well adapted to realize its purpose. The youth was firmly fixed in his government or estates before his natural protectors had lost the power of asserting his rights to the inheritance.*

In a state of society very little raised above barbarism, one is not prepared to find so minute a distinction of ranks as prevails in Polynesia, more especially among the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands, whose government is said to be more despotic than that of any tribe on the southern side of the equator. This distribution

* Ellis' Polynesian Researches, vol. iii. p. 101. It is added that the lands and other sources of the king's support were appropriated to the household establishment of the infant ruler; and the father rendered to him those demonstrations of inferiority which he himself was wont to require from the people.

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of the people into certain orders, marked by distinct lines of separation, has been regarded as a proof of their descent from the Asiatic continent, where the institution of *caste* appears in all the solidity of an ancient system; for though the degrees which measure rank in the South Sea may not be so numerous as those in India, the approach from one grade to another is rendered hardly less difficult. The higher classes are described as being remarkably tenacious of their dignity, and exceedingly jealous of such contamination as might arise from a matrimonial union with their inferiors.

Society in that part of the world seems to consist of three orders; the royal family and nobles; the proprietors of land who employ themselves in cultivating it; and, lastly, the common people. These orders, again, are subdivided according to their several gradations. The lowest class includes the servants and slaves; the latter being persons who may have lost their liberty in an unsuccessful battle, or who, in consequence of the downfal of the chieftain to whom they were attached, had become the dependents of another. This species of servitude appears to have existed among them from the most ancient times. Individuals taken in actual combat, or those who, when disabled in the field, had courted the protection of a great warrior, have always been considered the lawful slaves of him into whose hands they fell. In such cases, the women and children, sharing the fate of their vanquished kinsmen, become the property of the conqueror, or are transferred with the lands to his subordinate chiefs.

There is no reason to believe that the Polynesians ever carried on a traffic in slaves, though they retained over their captives the power of life and death, and might even offer them in sacrifice to their gods. If peace continued, the prisoner often regained his liberty after a short servitude, and was then allowed either to return to his own people or to remain a voluntary servant with his new master. This mild species of slavery, incident to a rude condition of society, has prevailed more or less

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in all nations, whether in the east or west. Among the savages of North America, the enemies taken in war might either be adopted into the victorious tribe, to supply the loss sustained in a battle, or murdered under the most cruel torture, to satiate the revenge of the victors, or to appease the angry spirits of the slain.

The second class, called the *bue raatira*, comprehending the great body of the landowners who are not noble, have at all times been regarded as the main strength of the country. They hold their property on a tenure quite independent of the royal pleasure, and, in many cases, can boast that it has descended to them through a long line of ancestors. Some of them in their habits and possessions bear a certain resemblance to the old yeomen of England; dressing their own fields, improving their own plantations, building their own houses, and paying without a grudge their stated dues to the crown. The owners of more extensive estates constitute the real aristocracy of the country, and enjoy no small influence in its government. They are, generally speaking, regular, temperate, and industrious in their manner of life, and are found, on most occasions, to impose a restraint on the hasty measures of the king, who, without their aid, could not carry any important matters. As their means are ample, the number of their retainers is great in proportion; and hence the weight which they exercise in public affairs during peace as well as in war.

The highest class, or the *hui arii*, includes the sovereign, the immediate members of his family, and even all who are related to him in the most distant degree. This section of the inhabitants, though not numerous, enjoy great consideration; and their dignity is protected with much jealousy, not only by themselves, but by the people at large, who have been taught to regard their own honour as identified with the purity of the reigning house. Perhaps, also, this feeling may be partly ascribed to the very obvious policy of limiting within the narrowest bounds the number of individuals whose privileges, as a sacred order, might be felt incon-

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venient. But the arii, we are assured, are not less desirous to maintain unchallenged the grounds of their high distinction, and to hand it down uncontaminated to their offspring. With this view, whenever a matrimonial connexion takes place between one of them and an individual of inferior rank, the children are destroyed.

Though the king succeeds to his office at the hour of his birth, a period is fixed for his inauguration. This ceremony takes place when he assumes the government in his own person, and is usually celebrated with much rude magnificence, not unmixed with the rites of a cruel idolatry. The details are given at considerable length by the missionaries; but to a reader unaccustomed to the mystical language and grotesque forms of the pageant, these are necessarily in a great measure unintelligible. The substance of this state solemnity consists in investing the sovereign with the *maro*, or girdle of red feathers, which at once raises him to the highest earthly station, and gives him a place among the celestial progenitors of his race. Vancouver relates that a change of language, to some extent, was introduced whenever a young ruler obtained the belt of royalty; applying as well to the names of the chiefs as to forty or fifty of the most common words. As might be expected, the new terms produced a very material difference in those family-tables of affinity preserved among the higher class, and which are said to be constructed with great attention. Later writers make no mention of this innovation in style, whence we may conclude, that it was confined to the island in which he witnessed it, or that he did not fully comprehend the information he received. He adds, indeed, that the perplexities connected with the narrative were materially increased by the difficulty of obtaining the truth from men who have a constant desire to avoid giving offence even in the slightest degree.*

Such were the exalted notions entertained of regal authority at the court of Otaheite; and the phraseology

* Vancouver, vol. i. p. 135. Ellis, vol. iii. p. 112.

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of the people with regard to the reception of the red girdle was not less elevated. The adulation addressed to the prince, and the inflated terms in which his greatness was described, were not less pompous than those used in the presence of a Chinese emperor or a Turkish sultan. Not only was it declared that Oro, the god of war, was the father of the king, but his houses were called the clouds of heaven, his canoe was denominated the rainbow, his voice was thunder, the torches in his palace were styled lightning, and his movement from one district to another, though on the shoulders of a porter, was expressed by the metaphor of flying through the air. But the majesty of Polynesian thrones is not in all respects consistent; for the same potentate who at one time appears decked with the most splendid of royal insignia, surrounded by priests and venerated as a god, is at another time seen stooping to the most ordinary occupations, and holding equal converse with the lowest of his domestics.

The household was maintained by the produce of the hereditary lands, and also by certain supplies exigible from the principal proprietors of the soil. The former being seldom found sufficient for the wants of the palace, application appears to have been regularly made to the raatiras, who, without submitting to any fixed rule, held themselves bound to comply with the demands of the king's steward at his periodical visits. The provisions thus granted were not unfrequently cooked and ready for the royal table; cloth was also presented for dresses to the servants; and, on some occasions, these aids extended to canoes, and even to houses, when his majesty happened to visit parts of his dominions where he had no convenient residence.*

Although in theory the government of the Georgian and Society Islands might be pronounced despotic, in

* Every reader must observe the resemblance between these usages and the purveyance and maintenance at one time common in England.

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practice it was found to admit a large portion of popular influence, as exercised by the owners of land, the natural representatives of an agricultural people. The king had usually near his person one confidential chief, who, officiating as prime minister, advised him in all matters of importance; but this high functionary, unlike those in more regular constitutions, was not responsible to any class of persons for the counsel he might happen to give. So great, however, was the authority of the raatiras, that no decision involving the momentous question of peace or war, was ever adopted without their concurrence. The national assemblies were commonly held in the open air, and the utmost freedom of speech was allowed to every one whose rank entitled him to a place and a voice in their deliberations. Orators appeared on each side in all cases where the matter under consideration admitted of debate; and the king himself usually took a part in the discussion, urging his own views without any reserve. The speakers, on most occasions, possessed greater control over their reason than over their passions; and it was not uncommon to see a difference of opinion, after being pressed in angry words, followed by scenes of fury and bloodshed. If it was resolved to go to war, each chieftain retired to his own district, summoned his retainers, put arms into their hands, and prepared to lead them forth to join the banner of the sovereign.

Whenever a measure was adopted which concerned the great body of the inhabitants, a messenger was despatched throughout the island, who, after the manner of the ancient Celts, carried in his hand an emblematical proclamation, to which every loyal subject was ready to give obedience. Instead of the fiery cross, the royal envoy in the Georgian Islands displayed a bunch of twigs bearing their green leaves; and when he entered the lands of a chief, he repaired instantly to his house, presented a single leaf, and forthwith delivered the orders of the king. If the token was accepted, the raatira was understood to express his compliance with the injunction

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thereby conveyed to him; but if he declined to receive it, his opposition to the policy of the government in this particular case was held to be distinctly manifested. To refuse, indeed, or to return the proffered leaf, was in general deemed equivalent to an act of rebellion; and if the monarch found himself sufficiently strong, the refractory vassal was not long allowed to pass without due punishment.*

In a state of society so simple, it will not appear surprising that there was no regular code of laws, nor any courts of justice; and hence, except in offences against the supreme authorities, the rulers were seldom called upon to interpose the exercise of power. Personal security and the rights of property were enforced no farther than the influence of the chiefs could be exerted in behalf of their respective dependents; and those who had little hope of succeeding by an appeal to arms, were content to adopt the alternative of submitting to whatever wrongs or loss might be inflicted on them. Among the lower class, retaliation for theft or personal violence usually superseded every other rule of jurisprudence; a principle which was so generally recognised, that the offenders seldom resisted, knowing that the claims of the injured party would be supported by the great body of the people throughout the district. In no respect were their actions and practice less regular than in crimes against chastity; for while lewdness was hardly regarded as offensive to good manners, adultery was sometimes punished with death. So lax on other occasions were their sentiments on this head, that when a husband adopted a *taio* or friend, his wife was understood to be their common property; while those in the higher rank who practised polygamy, saw nothing wrong when their ladies attached themselves to other men, if duly recommended.

The sanction of law in the South Sea, as elsewhere, rested chiefly on the authority of religion; and there

* Ellis, vol. iii. p. 122.

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cannot be any doubt that the sacrifice of victims to the gods when supposed to be offended, was a powerful engine in the possession of government. When the priest announced that the wrath of heaven required an atonement, the king, whose duty it was to watch over the safety of his land, gave orders for the selection of a proper person; and it being observed by the people that individuals who had shown any marked disaffection towards the state were commonly chosen, they were more careful to render an unhesitating obedience to the will of the sovereign. It is related by one of the missionaries, that when a victim was required, the monarch despatched to the chiefs of the various districts certain messengers, who, upon entering their dwellings, were wont to ask whether they had a *broken calabash* at hand or a *rotten cocoa-nut*. These or similar terms were invariably used and well understood when such applications were made. It generally happened that some one of the chiefs had an individual on his grounds whom he was not unwilling to devote to the horrid purpose in view. When, therefore, the request was announced, he notified by a motion of the hand or movement of the eye the person whom he wished to be taken. The only weapon with which the assassins were armed was a small stone concealed in the fist; and one of them striking the doomed man a stunning blow on the back of the head, the others rushed in and completed the murder. The body was then carried, amidst songs and shouts of savage triumph, to the marai, where it was offered to the gods. This inhuman practice was rendered still more dreadful by a circumstance, which, probably intended to prevent revenge on the part of the survivors, occasioned the utmost wretchedness and alarm. As soon as one of a family was selected as an offering to the vindictive spirit of their imaginary divinities, all the other males belonging to it considered themselves as devoted. It availed them nothing to remove to another island, for the reason of their migration was soon made known; and whenever a sacrifice was needed, it was sought among the unfortunate

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refugees. The missionary, on whose authority we relate these facts, had in his own household a domestic, all of whose brothers had been immolated on the altar, and he himself had been eight times hunted with dogs in the neighbouring mountains; but, being an extraordinary runner, as well as ingenious in devising resources, he contrived to elude his pursuers until the inhabitants of his island embraced the gospel, and no longer looked to such oblations.*

The practice of taboo, in like manner, placed a vast influence in the hands of the ruler. A universal interdict was constantly at his command; and whether in matters of finance, provisions, or any other branch of national economy, he had the minds and bodies of his subjects entirely under his control. The introduction of Christianity has indeed effected an extensive and most beneficial change in the political opinions, the manners, and belief of the natives; but before we enter upon those interesting points, we shall briefly notice some opinions and usages which prevailed among the Eastern Polynesians at the time when they were first visited by navigators from Europe.

On all the inquiries which respect the origin of the human race and the nature of the gods, their impressions were extremely vague, ridiculous, and in many cases inconsistent. They traced their own existence to progenitors, who, though they had sprung from a divine source, were led by inclination or necessity to fix their abode upon earth, with whom, even after they were removed by death, they continued to hold some mysterious connexion. Hence their forefathers and their divinities being in many cases identified, the same forms of adoration were directed to both. But as the imagination of a savage does not long remain satisfied with ideal forms, the inhabitants of all the Polynesian groups were found to have adopted the usual expedient of supplying themselves with an object on which they might fix their

* Williams' Missionary Enterprises, p. 555.

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eyes, when engaged in the various ceremonies of their rude worship. The idols, we are told, were different in every island, there being no one type or symbol which had secured the approval of the general mind.

In some cases there is reason to believe that their notions have received a certain colouring from an occasional intercourse with Europeans. For example, in Otaheite it is mentioned as a tradition received from their fathers that the first human pair owed their existence to the god Taaroa, who, after he had formed the world, created man out of red earth. It is added that this deity one day caused the man to fall asleep, and, while he lay in a state of insensibility took out one of his bones, of which he made a woman, whom he gave to him as his wife. Some of the islanders maintain that the name of the female was Ivi, which would by them be pronounced Evé. The native term literally signifies a bone; but figuratively it is also applied to a widow and to a victim slain in war. It is justly remarked, that, should a stricter inquiry confirm the truth of this statement, more especially with regard to the antiquity of the opinion, it will afford one of the most remarkable oral traditions yet known relative to the origin of the human race.*

The traces of primeval belief which prevail among the people of the South Sea, will be found to lend great probability to the conclusion, that the nations whence they originally emigrated must have been acquainted with some of the leading facts contained in the Mosaical history. Other of their tenets appear to bear a great resemblance to the more striking features of Hindoo cosmogony. The account of the creation given in the Institutes of Menu accords in no small degree with the Polynesian legends as to the production of the visible world by the power of their god. The Brahmins say, that he having willed to produce various beings from his own divine

* Polynesian Researches, vol. i. p. 110. Mr Ellis, who collected with great care the floating notions of the people, is disposed to think that *Ivi* or Eve is the only aboriginal part of the story, as far as it respects the mother of the human race.

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substance, first, with a thought, created the waters, and placed in them a productive seed. That seed became an egg bright as gold, blazing like the luminary with a thousand beams, and in that egg he was himself born, in the form of Brahma, the great forefather of all spirits. The waters were called *nara,* because they were the production of *narau,* the Spirit of God ; and since they were his first place of motion, he is thence named *Narayana.* A rude version of this legend is still preserved in the Sandwich Islands, where the mythologist continues to teach that the terrestrial frame was produced by a bird, an emblem of the deity. This divine creature laid an egg upon the waters, which, afterwards bursting of itself, gave an origin to the concave firmament and the convex earth, subsequently removed from each other by the agency of Ruu, one of the most powerful of the divinities. Hence the holy mountain Me-ru, the abode of the Hindoo gods, is also the paradise of some of the South Sea Islanders, the dwelling-place of their departed kings, and of their most distinguished benefactors. Varuna and Vahni, who have a niche in the Brahminical pantheon, are also found with a slight alteration among the natives of the Pacific. Varua and Vaiti equally denote a spiritual existence ; and both these terms are still in use, on either side of the equator, as part of the religious vocabulary of the copper-coloured tribes.*

It is not a little interesting to find that traditions of the Deluge have existed from the earliest period among the natives of Polynesia. They narrate that in ancient times Taaroa, their principal deity, being angry with men on account of their wickedness, overturned the earth into the sea, all of which sunk in the waves, except a few projecting points, forming the various clusters of their islands. The memorial preserved by the inhabitants of Eimeo records that, after the inundation of the

* The resemblance between the Polynesians and Hindoos is in some respects so striking as to lead to the remark of Bishop Heber, that many things which he saw among the inhabitants of India reminded him of the plates in Cook's Voyages.

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world, when the waters subsided, a man landed from a canoe, and erected an altar or marai in honour of his god.

The most circumstantial account of this remarkable event, supplied by Mr Orsmond, is translated as follows: "Destroyed was Otaheite by the sea; no man, nor dog, nor fowl remained. The groves of trees and the stones were carried away by the wind. They were destroyed, and the deep was over the land. But these two persons, the husband and the wife (when it came in), he took up his young pig, she took up her young chickens; he took up the young dog, and she the young kitten. They were going forth, and looking at Orofena (the highest hill in the island), the husband said, up both of us to yonder mountain high. The wife replied, no, let us not go thither. The husband said, it is a high rock and will not be reached by the sea; but the wife replied, reached it will be by the sea yonder: let us ascend Opitohito, round as a breast; it will not be reached by the sea. They two arrived there. Orofena was overwhelmed by the waves: Opitohito alone remained and was their abode. There they watched ten nights; the sea ebbed, and they saw the two little heads of the mountains in their elevation. When the waters retired, the land remained without produce, without man, and the fish were putrid in the holes of the rocks. The earth remained, but the shrubs were destroyed. They descended and gazed with astonishment: there were no houses, nor cocoa-nuts, nor palm-trees, nor bread-fruit, nor grass; all was destroyed by the sea. They two dwelt together; and the woman brought forth two children, a son and a daughter. In those days covered was the land with food; and from two persons the earth was repeopled."*

The natives of Raiatea ascribe the safety of the surviving couple to the miraculous circumstance that the island of Toamarama, on which they, instructed by the god Ruahatoo to take refuge, resisted the approach of the

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* Ellis, vol. i. p. 387.

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water, though it rose every where around to the height of several thousand feet. Their belief in the Deluge, though accompanied with some difficulties of a physical nature, remains unshaken; and, in support of it, they allude to the coral, shells, and other marine substances occasionally found near the surface on the tops of their highest mountains. These, they maintain, could neither have been carried thither by the inhabitants, nor have originally existed in the situations in which they are now seen, but must have been deposited by the waters of the ocean when the islands were inundated.

Without any more special reference to geology, we are certain that no one will question the soundness of the observation with which the author of the Polynesian Researches concludes his narrative. "The memorial of a universal deluge existing in those communities by which civilisation, literature, science, and the arts have been carried to the highest perfection, as well as among the most untutored and barbarous, preserved through all the migrations and vicissitudes of the human family, from the remote antiquity of its occurrence to the present time, is a most decisive evidence of the truth of revelation. The brief yet satisfactory testimony to this event, preserved in the oral traditions of a people secluded for ages from other parts of the world, furnishes strong additional evidence that the Scripture record is irrefragable. In several respects the Polynesian account resembles not only the Mosaic, but those preserved by the earliest families of the postdiluvian world, and supports the presumption that their religious system has descended from the Arkite idolatry, the basis of the mythology of the Gentile nations. The sleep of Ruahatoo accords with the slumber of Bramah, which was the occasion of the crime that brought on the Hindoo deluge. The warning to flee and the means of safety resemble a tradition recorded by Kœmpfer as existing among the Chinese. The canoe of the Polynesian Noah has its counterpart in the traditions of their antipodes the Druids, whose memorial states the bursting of the lake

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Ilion, the overwhelming of the face of all lands, and the drowning of all mankind, excepting two individuals who escaped in a naked vessel (one without sails), by whom the island of Britain was repeopled. The safety which the progenitors of the human race are said to have found in caves, or the summits of the mountains, when the waters overflowed the land, bears a resemblance to the Hawaiian legend; and that of Mexico, in which Coxcox, or Tezpi, and his wife are represented as having been preserved in a bark, corresponds with the Otaheitan tradition. Other points of resemblance between the Polynesian account and the memorial of the Deluge circulated among the ancient nations might be cited; but these are sufficient to show the agreement in the testimony to the same event, held by the most distant tribes of the human race."*

After the manner of most primitive nations, these simple reasoners ascribe the origin of all things, even of their divinities, to night or darkness. Taaroa himself, who is sometimes represented as uncreated, or as having existed from the beginning, has his era also measured by a reference to the period when he emerged from the gloom of chaos, and assumed the office of a demiurgus. But whatever may have been the foundation of their mythology, the Polynesians were taught to see their gods in clouds, and hear them in the winds. The spell of enchantment was thrown over every scene, whether by sea or by land. They conceived themselves surrounded by intelligences wherever they contemplated the active powers of nature; and in the rising sun, the mild light of the moon, the shooting-star, the flame of

* Ellis, vol. i. p. 394. On the subject of religion, Captain Cook remarks, that "they reproach many who bear the name of Christian. You see no instance of them drawing near the Atua with carelessness and inattention. The supplicant is all devotion: he approaches the place of worship with reverential awe; uncovers when he treads on sacred ground; and prays with a fervour that would do honour to a better profession. He firmly credits the traditions of his ancestors. None dares dispute the existence of the Deity."

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the meteor, the roar of the ocean, or the blast of the tempest, they realized the presence of mighty spirits. Amusement itself was not altogether separated from feelings of gratitude or adoration. In his games, the Otaheitan acknowledged the authority of an invisible superintendent; every art had its patron, to whom the working-man lifted up his thoughts; and the professor who healed wounds or cured diseases, solicited the aid of Tama and Oitili, who united in their character the functions of the Grecian Esculapius.

We learn from the missionaries that *atua*, which, as well as *varua*, signifies spirit, is the general name by which the objects of worship are designated in Eastern Islands. The first *a* appears to be a component part of the word, though in many sentences it is omitted, in consequence of the preceding word terminating in a vowel. Though little light is thereby thrown on the origin of the people, it is interesting to trace the correspondence between the *tangata*, first man in Polynesia, and the *tangatanga*, a principal deity among the South Americans; between the *tua* of the South Sea, the *tev* of the Mexicans, the *deviyo* of the Singalese, and the *deva* of the Sanscrit.*

The objects which claimed the worship of the natives in the Society Islands, appear to have been their deified ancestors, idols, and *etus*. These last, indeed, were common to other groups, and consisted generally of some reptile, bird, or fish, in which it was believed that a spirit resided. It was by no means uncommon to see a chief muttering a prayer to a fly, an ant, or a lizard; and when any such animal was accidentally killed, a deep sorrow was expressed by those who had courted its favour or dreaded its power to punish. An especial reverence was shown towards a species of woodpecker, which was accustomed to frequent the trees growing in the precincts of the temples. Hence, this bird was considered sacred, and allowed to feed on the sacrifices; or

* Ellis, vol. i. p. 334.

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rather, the god to whom the victim had been offered was understood to approach, in that form, to acknowledge the piety of his votaries. The cry which it uttered, too, was regarded as a response made to the prayers of the priest, who alone could understand its import.

As to the souls of such of their dead relations as had been honoured for their services upon earth, they imagined that they had their abode in the world of night, where they occupied a station intermediate between gods and the human race. Though, in their addresses to them, they did not hesitate to ascribe divine attributes, they nevertheless abstained from such worship except on very particular occasions. It is said that no prayer was ever made to those *oromatuas* except by wizards and sorcerers, who implored their aid for the destruction of an enemy, or to enable them to inflict injury on some individual whom they were hired to assail. The natives were greatly afraid of these human demons; and it was to avoid the evils which they were supposed to have the power of sending, that gifts were so profusely presented at their altars. Nor is it surprising that they should have been regarded with such emotions, because the chief oromatuas were the spirits of departed warriors, who had distinguished themselves by ferocity and murder, not less than by their patriotism. Each was honoured with an image, through which his influence was understood to be exerted; and their skulls, in some cases, preserved along with the idol, were honoured with the same tokens of religious respect.*

The idols were either unpolished logs of wood, wrapped in numerous folds of sacred cloth, or rudely carved images, braided with leaves and ornamented with feathers. Into these shrines the god was believed to enter at certain seasons, or in answer to the special invocation of the priest. During this indwelling, the

* Ellis, vol. i. p. 338. Williams' Missionary Enterprises, p. 549.

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image was held to be very powerful; but when the supernatural presence was withdrawn, its efficacy for good or for evil no longer existed. This distinction was every where acknowledged both by those who made and by those who venerated the mystic symbols. The former declared their entire conviction, that the virtue in the idol arose, not from the alteration made by their tools on the trunk of a tree, but from its being placed in the temple, and filled with the spirit of the atua. It is well known that, besides offerings of various kinds of food, cloth, canoes, and other property, human victims were sacrificed in great numbers, more particularly on the breaking out of a war, when the countenance of Oro, the Mars of the Pacific, was to be gained, at whatever expense of blood and suffering. Like the heathens of old, too, they were wont to inflict upon themselves the most painful mutilations. Even the worshippers of Baal, who cut themselves with knives till the blood gushed out upon them, did not carry self-torture to a greater extent than the devotee at Otaheite and Tongataboo. It was customary, during the performance of some of their rites, to knock out their front teeth, and to deprive themselves of portions of their fingers; insomuch that, according to indisputable accounts, it was hardly possible to meet a full-grown person who had not submitted to some such operation.

Many mothers used to dedicate their children to one of the deities, but principally to Hiro, the god of thieves, or to Oro, the god of war. If to the former of these, the parent, before the birth of her babe, went to the temple with the suitable offerings; when the priest, performing the ceremony, called "catching the spirit of the god," infused a portion of it into the unconscious child, that it might become a clever and desperate stealer. The greater number, however, were desirous that their boys should become renowned warriors; and to secure this object of ambition, many ceremonies were performed before the infants saw the light, who, soon after they were born, were taken to the marai, and

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formally dedicated to the god of arms. The spirit of the sanguinary deity was said to be "caught," and imparted to the suckling as before; and the ceremony was concluded by offerings, sacrifices, and prayers. At New Zealand, stones were thrust down the throats of the little boys, to give them firm hearts, and render them fearless combatants.

It is remarkable that the practice of human sacrifice did not prevail at the Navigators' Islands, though, in those a little farther east, it was felt as one of the greatest scourges to which savage life is ever exposed. When, for example, an invading enemy had desecrated a marai or temple, no fewer than seven victims were required to effect the purification, to restore the holy place to its wonted sanctity, and to reconcile the offended god to his former dwelling.

With notions so gross in regard to the objects of their worship, it was not to be expected that the ideas of the Polynesians, on a future state, could be either pure or exalted. Entertaining the general belief of an hereafter, they could hardly fail to conclude that there must also be reward and punishment; but being strangers to all intellectual joy, they fixed their hopes on a paradise whose flowers never fade, and amidst which the favoured spirits, enjoying perpetual youth, spend their days in boundless festivity and merriment. This was their heaven; and the pains of hell were believed to arise from a distant view of that happiness, which tortured the condemned sinner with vehement desires never to be gratified and never to cease.

In order to secure the admission of a soul into future happiness, the corpse was dressed in the best manner the relatives could afford, the head being wreathed with flowers and other decorations, according to the profession or character of the departed. A pig was then baked whole and placed on the body, surrounded with a suitable quantity of vegetables. "Go, my friend," says the chief mourner, "when you were alive I treated you with kindness, and when you were ill I did my best to

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restore you to health; and now you are dead, there is your last gift. Go then, and with that gain an entrance into the palace of Tiki, and do not come to this world again to disturb and alarm us."

The Fijee Islanders present much more costly sacrifices, in order to obtain repose or solace in the regions beyond the tomb. There the chiefs, according to their rank, have from twenty to thirty wives; and when one of these great men dies, the body is laid in state under the open sky, in the presence of a vast number of spectators. The principal lady, after being adorned in the most sumptuous manner, walks forth and takes her seat near the deceased, where she is immediately strangled, by means of a rope passed round her neck and pulled with the utmost violence. This process is continued until four of the females have been put to death; after which they are all buried in the same grave with their husband, to cheer his passage into the invisible world, and to serve him in that distant land with their wonted zeal and submissiveness.

In the first stage of their conversion, and before the veil was entirely removed from their faces when reading the Scriptures, they took a great interest in the ceremonies of the Mosaical Law, as bearing some resemblance to the usages to which they themselves had been accustomed. On this ground they were naturally led to inquire whether their contrition would not be more acceptable unto God, were they to rend their garments and cover their heads with ashes, than by uttering a simple expression of sorrow for their offences. They frequently adverted, also, to the history of our first parents, wishing to be informed whether, after their fall and expulsion from paradise, they had, through a sincere repentance, obtained forgiveness. Upon being told it was probable they had received pardon, and were now in heaven, one of them inquired how Adam's offence could possibly affect his posterity, after the guilt contracted by it had been removed even from the perpetrators of the crime. With the curiosity

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of children, they asked, whether the devil would have tempted Eve, and thereby brought sin into the world, if God had not forbidden the fruit of the tree of knowledge. On another occasion, one of them expressed a desire to learn what caused the angels in heaven to sin or Satan to become a wicked spirit. He was told that pride was the cause of his fall, but that revelation was silent as to the origin of the undutiful emotion which first prompted disobedience in the heart of the rebellious demon.

In the course of his teaching, a missionary had to sustain the following retort, which is much after the form of those arguments that every mother hears from the mouths of her children at a certain age. "You say God is a holy and a powerful being, and that the devil is the cause of a vast increase of moral evil in the world, by exciting or disposing men to sin. If, then, Satan be only a dependent creature, and the cause of so much evil, which is displeasing in the eye of the Almighty, why does he not kill him at once, and thereby prevent all the wickedness and suffering of which he is the author?"

The duration of sufferings inflicted on the wicked in the future state was occasionally introduced; and the poor natives asked, with great earnestness, if none of their ancestors, or the former inhabitants of the islands, had gone to heaven? To this question the missionaries could not possibly give a satisfactory reply; and we allude to these inquiries, on the part of their catechumens, merely because they afford a proof of reflection, and also of such a degree of acuteness as must, when properly directed, lead to the most happy results. Their depth of thought is farther manifested by their reasoning respecting the resurrection of the body. Of another world, and the existence of the soul in a separate state after the dissolution of the earthly frame, they appear to have at all times entertained a certain obscure belief; but the reanimation of the mouldering dust never seems to have occurred to them as a thing either likely or desirable.

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There were, besides, points of difficulty in the doctrine peculiar to themselves. Many of their relatives or countrymen had been devoured by sharks, which, in their turn, were also caught and eaten by other men, who might afterwards be devoured by similar voracious fishes. Cannibalism, again, is known to have been practised in some islands, and to have prevailed universally in others; and it cannot be considered improbable, that many of their kindred have been eaten, after being taken in war, or cast ashore by shipwreck. Upon stating these facts, of which unfortunately there is no room for doubt, they have asked whether, admitting all the processes of new combination involved in their statement, the original parts of every human body will be reunited at the resurrection.

In some of the islands the natives are found to reason on the principles of an absolute fatalism. All suffering, whether in this world or the next, is referred to the determination of a fixed destiny, altogether irrespective of character or conduct. The judicial functions of their deities were not understood to extend to virtue and vice in the ordinary acceptation of the terms; the only sins which they visited with their displeasure being neglect of some ceremony, or refusal to present an appointed offering.

There has not been observed among them any trace of the metempsychosis or transmigration of souls, although they believed that hogs have in them a spark of immortality, and that there is a distinct place whither their spirits repair at death. The same doctrine was extended to plants and flowers, which were imagined to possess not only a sensitive principle, but a soul in the proper meaning of the term. Generally speaking, their metaphysical researches were not profound; but the more inquisitive amongst them not unfrequently entered into discussions respecting the source of the intellectual energies in man, and the seat of the affections. They denied that the brain is, in any degree, the spring or instrument of thought. On the contrary, when speaking

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of mental exercises or moral sentiments, they invariably employed terms, the import of which is best expressed by the word "bowels" as it is used in the sacred writings. It is admitted that in some instances the original phrase might be translated "heart;" and on this ground, their mode of speaking would approach more nearly to our own idiom, as, when we say, the thoughts, or the desires, or the imaginations of the heart. For soul and spirit, as we have seen, they have distinct terms; but it does not appear that they considered either of these as sharing in the emotions, whether physical or moral, which occasionally agitate the body. In short, to the head they attributed nothing in connexion with intellect, nor to the heart with respect to sentiment. To the latter organ, separately considered, they ascribed no susceptibilities beyond those which are common to the bodily frame at large. Hence they contended that the seat of thought and sensation was in the abdominal viscera generally, and neither in the heart nor in the brain; and in proof of the soundness of their opinion, they referred to the agitations produced in the internal parts by desire, fear, joy, surprise, and all strong affections of the mind.

It is remarked by Mr Ellis that, though the mental capacity of the inhabitants of Eastern Polynesia has been but very partially developed, they possess good abilities. They are extremely curious and inquisitive; and, compared with those of the western islands, they may be said to display considerable ingenuity and mechanical invention. Unacquainted as they were with the use of letters, it need not be observed that their intellectual powers had not been improved by any regular culture; but the principles of their civil polity, the observances of their complicated ritual, the legends of their gods, the historical songs of their bards, the beautiful and impassioned eloquence sometimes displayed in their national assemblies, and, above all, the copiousness, variety, and precision of their language, together with their knowledge of numbers, warrant the conclusion

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already stated, that their minds are not destitute of natural vigour.

In respect of physical attributes, the Polynesians, as a race, are not inferior to Europeans. Generally speaking, they are taller and more athletic. The countenance is open and prepossessing, though the features are in some instances rather prominent. The form of the face is either round or oval, seldom exhibiting any resemblance to the angular shape of the Tartar visage, while the profile bears a striking similarity to that of the European. Their hair is a shining black or dark-brown colour; not lank and wiry like that of the Indian, nor, except in a few instances, woolly, after the manner of the negro in Australia or the Papuan Islands. In point of stature, there is a considerable difference between the men and women. The latter, taken in mass, are stronger and taller than English females, and are also distinguished by a fulness of figure, sometimes approaching to corpulency. The prevailing colour in both sexes is olive, bronze, or reddish-brown, presenting occasionally a kind of medium between the yellow of the Malay and the red of the native American. But it is by no means uniform even among the people of the same island; and the diversity, as might be expected, is still much greater among the inhabitants of the several groups. The red or brown in the countenance is more or less dark, without being at all mixed with black; and, in certain districts, the complexion is not very different from that which prevails in the southern nations of Europe.*

The children at their birth are not much darker than infants in this part of the world; and the skin only assumes the bronze hue as they grow up under constant exposure to the sun. Those parts of the body which are covered, even with their slight clothing, are much fairer, at every period of life, than such as are necessarily exposed to the weather; and it is noticed by one of the most distinguished of the missionaries, that, notwithstanding the

* Ellis, vol. i. p. 83.

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dark tint with which the climate appears to dye the skin, the ruddy bloom of health and vigour, or the sudden blush, is often seen mantling the youthful countenance under the light-brown tinge which, like a thin veil, but partially conceals its glow. Hence the natives, supposing the white colour of the European to be the effect of illness, beheld it with pity; an impression that has long since given way to experience, which has completely dissolved the fancied connexion.*

We are informed by the same author, that although remarkably strong men are found among the Polynesians, they are in general more distinguished by activity than by muscular power. They engage in various kinds of work with great spirit, but soon tire. When a boat manned with English seamen and a canoe with natives happened to start from the shore, the latter instantly left the Europeans behind; but, becoming fatigued, they gradually relaxed their exertions, while the sailors, pulling without intermission, speedily overtook them, and usually reached their destination first. But they are, nevertheless, capable of great endurance. One of them has been known to travel in the course of a day thirty or forty miles, over mountain and ravine, without taking any other refreshment than a little juice from a sugar-cane. The facility with which they perform such journeys is, no doubt, the result of habit, as they are accustomed to climb the rocky precipices even from their childhood. Nor does it appear that the duration of life among them is under the usual limits, being about seventy years and upwards. Nay, it is probable that the rural population must present many instances of great longevity; for their simple diet, the absence of all stimulants, their habit of early rising, and, more especially, an entire freedom from irritating cares, are extremely favourable to health and length of days.

The early visiters to Otaheite were very favourably impressed with the appearance, manners, and cleanliness

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* Ellis, vol. i. p. 84.

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of the inhabitants. In their motions they observed both vigour and ease; their walk was graceful, their deportment liberal, and their behaviour to strangers and to each other affable and courteous. In their dispositions they appeared to be brave, open, and candid, without suspicion or treachery, cruelty or revenge. Captain Cook mentions that the natives, both men and women, constantly wash their whole bodies in running water three times every day; once as soon as they rise in the morning, once at noon, and again before they sleep at night, whether the sea or river be near them or at a distance. They wash, not only the mouth but the hands at their meals, almost between every morsel; and their clothes as well as their persons are kept without spot or stain.*

As one of the ceremonies connected with their natural condition, we must not fail to mention the mode in which they contracted and solemnized the obligations of marriage. In the South Sea Islands, as in all warm

* The impression made on the first missionaries was not less advantageous to the simple children of nature; and in regard to the females, they condescend to inform us that "those who carefully clothe themselves and avoid the sunbeams, are but a shade or two darker than a European brunette; their eyes are black and sparkling; their teeth white and even; their skin soft and delicate; their limbs finely turned; their hair jetty, perfumed, and ornamented with flowers; they are in general large and wide over the shoulders; we were therefore disappointed in the judgment we had formed from the report of preceding travellers; and though here and there was to be seen a young person who might be esteemed comely, we saw few who, in fact, could be called beauties; yet they possess eminent feminine graces; their faces are never darkened with a scowl, or covered with a cloud of sullenness or suspicion. Their manners are affable and engaging; their step easy, firm, and graceful; their behaviour free and unguarded; always boundless in generosity to each other and to strangers; their tempers mild, gentle, and unaffected; slow to take offence, easily pacified, and seldom retaining resentment or revenge, whatever provocation they may have received. Their arms and hands are very delicately formed; and though they go barefoot, their feet are not coarse and spreading."—*Missionary Voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean in the Years* 1796, 1797, 1798, *in the Ship Duff* (4to, Lond. 1799), pp. 336, 337.

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countries, the matrimonial union takes place at an early age; but among the chiefs, and other persons of rank, a betrothment was usually ratified when the future husband and wife were still in their childhood. The parties themselves were not sufficiently advanced in life to form any judgment of their own; yet we are assured that, on arriving at maturity, they rarely objected to the engagements which their friends had made on their behalf. Among the lower class, where family connexions and a suitable establishment had little weight in the considerations which determined the propriety of a match, the young persons were less restricted in their choice. In such cases the contract, being founded on affection or mutual respect, was confirmed with a greater appearance of free agency.

When the time fixed for the marriage arrived, great preparations were made for the dances, games, and other festive entertainments usual on such occasions. A company of strolling players generally attended, and on the day preceding the nuptials, their exhibitions were seen to commence. Next morning, an altar was erected in the house of the bride's parents, on which were placed the relics of her ancestors, including sometimes their skulls and larger bones, together with such presents as her relatives had thought proper to send. As the sanction of the gods was deemed essential to the validity of the contract about to be recognised, the ceremony was always performed in a place of worship. On entering the temple, the bride and bridegroom changed their clothes, and put on their wedding garments, which were ever afterwards considered sacred. The priest, arrayed in his official robes, turning to the man, said, "wilt thou not cast away thy wife?" To this question he answered, no; and upon receiving a similar assurance from the bride, the minister, addressing them both, pronounced these words: "if it be thus with you, happy shall ye be." He then offered a prayer to the gods in their behalf, entreating that they might live in affection, and realize all the happiness which marriage was

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designed to secure. On some occasions the female relatives, cutting their faces with a sharp instrument, received the blood on a piece of cloth, which they deposited at the feet of the bride ; a ceremony which was meant to denote, that any inferiority of rank that might have existed between the parties was thereby removed. The two families also to which they respectively belonged were ever afterwards regarded as one ; the mixing of their blood being esteemed an emblem of their union.*

Of the wives, we are assured by the best writers, that in general they are affectionate, tender, and obedient to their husbands, and uncommonly fond of their children ; nursing them with the utmost care, and being particularly attentive to keep their limbs supple and straight. A cripple is hardly ever seen among them in early life ; any such defect, indeed, would reflect the highest discredit on the mother. They construct not, it is true, any partitions in their houses ; but it is asserted that they have, in many instances, more refined ideas of decency than ourselves, and never, in their domestic intercourse, give any cause of offence to modesty or decorum. It is recorded that polygamy was practised to a great extent by the people of Otaheite. Many of the inferior chiefs, or raatiras, it is admitted, had two or three wives, who appeared to receive from them an equal degree of respect and the same portion of maintenance. But among the higher class of their simple aristocracy it was different ; for, although they might keep a number of females, it was rather a system of concubinage than a plurality of wives which prevailed amongst them. The individual to whom the chief was first united in marriage, or whose rank was nearest his own, was considered as his wife,

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* Mr Ellis (Polynesian Researches), vol. i. p. 273, remarks that, notwithstanding all this ceremony, the marriage tie was probably one of the weakest which existed among them ; neither party feeling themselves bound to abide by it longer than it suited their inclinations and convenience.

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and so long as she lived with him the other females were regarded as inferior to her.*

There are in the volumes of the missionaries, from whom our most satisfactory information is derived, many interesting notices illustrative of the opinions formerly prevailing in the South Sea on the subject of sorcery and divination. Though the details are, in many cases, ludicrous and even disgusting, they all manifest a belief in the power of supernatural beings, and in the subjection of matter to the dominion of mind, whether benevolent or destructive. The means used to ascertain the will of the gods, and to avert the effects of their anger, bear no small resemblance to those employed by the ancient Greeks and Romans for the same purpose; and hence the classical scholar, while he may regret the absence of the pleasing mythology with which the latter are associated, will acknowledge that the gross rites of Otaheite may be traced to the same source with the more elegant adoration which was offered to the deities of Delphi and Eleusis. Both flowed from the same fountain,—the consciousness that man cannot direct his own steps through the journey of life, nor determine the circumstances in which it shall be finally closed.

But the operations of that principle were not confined to the defence or welfare of the individual who had recourse to them: they were more frequently employed with the view of doing injury to others. The persons who devoted themselves to sorcery as a profession, readily lent their aid to the vindictive passions of those by whom they were employed; and it is certain that either by

* Ellis, vol. i. p. 274. Rienzi, Océanie, ou Cinquième Partie du Monde, Revue Geographique et Ethnographique de la Malaisie; de la Micronesie; de la Polynesie, et de la Malanesie (3 tomes, Paris, 1836), tome deuxième, p. 316. In the chapter entitled "Des Femmes en général," M. De Rienzi has stated some things on the subject of marriage among the Polynesians, which must not be taken too literally. The narratives of the English missionaries do not authorize the belief that their notions of female honour were quite so relaxed as the French writer, trusting to other sources of information, has represented them.

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means of poison secretly administered, or by the influence of terror on the imagination, they could produce the most horrible effects. The incantations usually commenced with a curse, pronounced by the priest or by the offended individual himself, in the name of certain gods; and, from the vengeance thereby imprecated, no hope of escape could be entertained, except by securing the interposition of some more powerful demon. We are informed, however, that the simple mysteries of prayer and offerings were not held sufficient to accomplish the object of the wizard, whether for assault or protection. Like the Circes and Medeas of ancient times, the minister of Polynesian superstition required some outward means whereby he might reach either the body or the mind of the person against whom his art was to be practised. As a vehicle by which the tormenting spirit might enter, he demanded parings of the nails, a lock of the hair, saliva from the mouth, or else a portion of the food which the doomed victim was to eat. This was called the *tubu;* and over it were performed, in the temple of the oromatua, those diabolical rites which were deemed essential to the potency of the charm. During this process the evil spirit was supposed to enter into the tubu, and, through it, into the individual whose life was menaced. If it was a portion of food, it was placed in his basket; and, if eaten, a sudden death seldom failed to ensue. The most acute agonies and terrific distortions of body were in many cases experienced; the wretched sufferer appeared in a state of frantic madness, torn, as was imagined, by a malignant fury, under whose dreadful power he writhed and foamed.

There is little doubt but that poison was the chief instrument employed in all those private murders, though it was, in general, so cautiously administered that the hand of the assassin could not be detected. The following instance, recorded in the Polynesian Researches, affords an illustration of this atrocious practice which cannot be mistaken, because the youth of the victim precluded the influence of any merely mental impression.

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One of the missionaries happened to send two native boys, his servants, from Eimeo to Otaheite for arum-roots. The man under whose care it was growing was a sorcerer; but being from home, the lads, according to the directions they had received, went to the field and procured the roots for which they had been sent. Before they departed, the person who had charge of the field returned, and was so enraged that he pronounced the most dreadful imprecations upon one or both of them. They set off for Eimeo, but apparently took no notice of the threatening. One of them was shortly afterwards taken ill; and the malediction of the sorcerer being made known to his friends, it was immediately concluded that the poor child was possessed by an evil spirit. Alarming symptoms rapidly increased, and some of the missionaries went to see him. On entering the place where he lay, a most appalling spectacle was presented: the unfortunate patient was lying on the ground, writhing in anguish, his eyes apparently ready to start from his head, and his limbs agitated with violent convulsions. The relations standing around were filled with horror at the sight of torments which they could neither mitigate nor remove; and the sufferer soon afterwards expired in the most frightful agonies.*

It is a singular circumstance, that, while this abominable practice continued among the natives, the sorcerers invariably acknowledged that their devices were harmless when employed against Europeans; alleging that these last were under the keeping of a Being much more powerful than any spirit which their incantations could evoke. But the safety of the white men arose from their limited intercourse with the heathen priesthood, who, there is no doubt, aided their spells by means of most subtile poisons conveyed in food or liquids. Indeed some of the sorcerers, since their conversion to Christianity, have confessed their guilt in this respect; admitting that the deaths which had been attributed to their supernatural agency, were occasioned by destructive mixtures.

* Ellis, vol. i. p. 366.

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The forms of augury among the Otaheitans will remind every reader of the ceremonies practised for learning the will of the gods in Greece and Rome. Divination was pursued in a variety of modes, by all of which it was imagined that future events might be made known to those whose interests induced them to look into the perspective of coming time. Much of it was connected with the sacrifices they offered, more especially the appearances of the animal in the agonies of death, or immediately after life was extinguished. In the muscular action of the fibres, the colour of the blood, or the condition of the viscera, the priest could behold the success of armies, the fall of a dynasty, or the conquest of an island. In another particular the similarity between the sacerdotal craft of ancient Europe and that of the South Sea is equally conspicuous. The god was supposed to enter the individual who ministered at his altar; who, inflated as it were with the divinity, ceased to act as a voluntary agent, but moved and spoke as if entirely under the influence of supernatural power. No sooner, however, had he uttered the response of the oracle than the paroxysm began to subside, and composure ensued; though, in some cases, the excitement continued several days, during which all his words and actions were considered as the fruit of direct inspiration.

Our account of the state in which the Polynesians were found by the early navigators would be incomplete did we fail to add a few remarks on a fraternity, known in some of the islands under the name of Areois. So far as their practices throw any light on the object of their institution, they may be said to combine the characteristics of gipsies, strolling players, and knights-errant. Though their actions are neither pure nor generous, they claim a heavenly origin; maintaining that their society was founded by two brothers of Oro, the god of war, who, learning that he was in the habit of paying stolen visits to a lady in the valley of Borabora, descended to the earth to watch his proceedings, or to congratulate him on his happiness. In return for this

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attention, he authorized them to establish a community, who should possess certain privileges, and be restricted to special rules. Among these last was an injunction that they should live in celibacy, and have no descendants; hence, though they did not positively prohibit marriage, the modern areois consider themselves bound to murder their children. In some respects, indeed, they bear a resemblance to the priests of Cebele and Bacchus, who, while they freely indulged their inordinate desires, were not allowed to encumber themselves with the inconvenience of progeny.

A late visiter has described them as "legion-fiends of the voluptuous haunts of Belial," who rove from one island to another, at home every where, and every where welcomed on account of the merriment they carry with them. They are also obsequiously reverenced for the terror they inspire, when they have occasion to extort property from those who dare not withhold it, whether they sue or whether they threaten. They consist generally of the cleverest and most handsome persons of both sexes, though the proportion of men to women is at least as five to one. Before the restraints of Christianity were acknowledged among the natives, whenever a company of areois, after one of their brief voyages, landed upon a shore where they meant to make some stay, their first business was to present at the marai a small sucking-pig as a thank-offering to the god for having conducted them thither in safety. But this sacrifice was understood to intimate more than a simple feeling of gratitude; it signified also to the people among whom they had come that they wanted food. This rite, therefore, was usually followed by what was emphatically called a "feeding;" when fifty or sixty hogs, perhaps, and fruit in proportion, were presented to them, together with rolls of cloth, and every other thing necessary for their personal accommodation.

The public entertainments, purchased at this high price, consisted chiefly in dramatic scenes, composed with little skill, or in the recital of legendary tales con-

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cerning the gods and their own ancestors. Many of these pieces were so regularly constructed as to be capable of verbal repetition from time to time; while others were accompanied with such illustrations as the fancy of the performer might enable him to introduce on the spur of the occasion. Their leader was placed, cross-legged, on a stool seven feet high, with a fan in his hand, in the midst of admiring auditors, whom he delighted with his drollery, or charmed with his wit. He introduced the recitation with a sort of prologue, when, after exhibiting some fantastic attitudes, the whole party began their song in a low voice and measured cadence, which, increasing in intensity as they proceeded, became at length exceedingly loud and rapid. When quite exhausted by the violence of their exertions, they discontinued the performance, until revived strength and a fresh audience encouraged them to a renewal of their follies.

On such occasions their dress was not less remarkable than their acting and music; their bodies being painted with charcoal, and their faces stained with a scarlet dye. Sometimes they used a belt of yellow leaves, which resembled closely the feather-girdles of the Peruvians and other American tribes. At other times they wore a vest formed of the ripe plantain, and ornamented their heads with the most brilliant foliage that could be procured. It is remarked by Mr Ellis, that in their performances the priests and other public persons were ridiculed without mercy, and that allusion was frequently made to passing events, to a royal marriage, or the incidents of a war. But dancing appears to have been a favourite and more frequent entertainment than the farce or burletta; and they often kept it up during the greater part of the night, accompanied by their voices, the flute, and the drum. Spacious houses, highly decorated, were erected in most of the islands for their accommodation.

The areois were divided into several classes, each of which was distinguished by the tattooing on their bodies. The highest order was called *avae parai*, painted leg, the leg being completely blackened from the toe to the

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knee; and the inferior grades received a corresponding appellation from the place or pattern of this species of adornment. The seventh class, whose persons were more or less disfigured with paint and carving, was denominated *poo faarearea*, or pleasure-making, because from it were selected the dancers and chief pantomimists. But, in addition to the seven regular classes, there were numerous individuals of both sexes who attached themselves to this dissipated fraternity, preparing their food and dresses, and performing other menial duties. Nor was this institution confined to any particular rank in society: it was composed of individuals belonging to every order of the inhabitants. In all cases, however, the admission was attended with a variety of ceremonies, and followed by a protracted noviciate; there being superior distinctions which could not be attained until after a laborious attention to the mysteries and rites of the brotherhood.

It was believed by the mass of the people, that such as became areois were prompted by the direct inspiration of the gods. When, therefore, any individual wished to be admitted to their society, he repaired to one of their public exhibitions in a state of apparent derangement, and arrayed in a fanciful dress. After a considerable trial of his docility and talents, if he persevered in the desire to be inaugurated, the ceremony took place in circumstances not dissimilar to those which used to accompany the introduction of a novice into the secrets of freemasonry. Their elevation to the several orders of their craft, too, proceeded on like grounds. After the gods were solicited to sanction the advancement, the candidates were taken to the temple, where their foreheads were solemnly anointed with fragrant oil. The sacred pig, wrapped in a consecrated cloth, was next put into the hand of each individual, and formally offered to the divinity; after which they were declared to be areois of the order to which they had respectively aspired. If the pig, thus presented, was killed, it was buried in the sanctuary; but if kept alive, its ears were ornamented

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with a tassel composed of the fibre of the cocoa-nut. It was then liberated, and being regarded as sacred, on account of its being offered to a god, it was allowed to feed where it pleased until it died a natural death.

Perhaps it was owing in no small degree to the solemnity now described, as well as to the legend which respects the origin of their institution, that the areois passed their lives, esteemed by the people as a superior order of beings, closely allied to the gods, and deriving from them a license to perpetrate the various enormities which disgraced their whole body. Free from labour and care they roved from island to island, supported by the chiefs, or feasting on the plunder taken from the grounds of the poor husbandmen. Such, too, was the system of delusion connected with their superstition, that for them was reserved that Elysium which their mythology taught them to believe was provided in a future state of existence, for persons so distinguished by the favour of heaven.

It is gratifying to add, that an institution which so long exerted a baneful influence over the minds of an ignorant indolent people, has already lost much of its authority and many of its adherents. The purer morality of the gospel has put to shame their abominable practices; while the taste of the simple natives, already greatly refined by the more exalted nature of the pursuits to which they are now invited, begins to contemn the paltry amusements afforded by the areois, and to abhor the immoral principles on which they were founded. We are assured that some of those who were ringleaders in all the vice and cruelty connected with the system, are at present distinguished for their active benevolence and exemplary lives. One of the first deacons of the church at Huahine, and who, as a missionary to his heathen brethren, has proved an indefatigable, upright, intelligent man, was once the principal areoi in the island of Raiatea.

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CHAPTER III.

On the Means employed for Improving the Inhabitants of the South Sea Islands, and more especially the Introduction of Christianity.

Motives to Discovery—Exertions of Missionaries—Savage Life never spontaneously improved—Proceedings of Lieutenant Bligh at Otaheite—The Failure of Spanish Priests—Origin of Missionary Society—Sailing of the Duff—Landing of Missionaries—Different Views as to the Means of civilizing Barbarians—South America and Africa—First Efforts at Otaheite fruitless—Remarks of Kotzebue—Similar Opinions adopted by the Literary Journals—Benefits conferred by Means of Christian Missions—Abolition of Infanticide and human Sacrifices—Difficulties to be encountered—Brighter Prospects opened—Remark on the Qualifications of a Missionary.

Considering the benevolent spirit which usually animates the British public, it was not probable that discoveries so interesting as those which had crowned the efforts of Wallis, Byron, Carteret, and Cook, would be long allowed to remain unproductive of advantage to the inhabitants of the remote lands thereby brought to light. It was indeed the main object of the successive voyages that did so much honour to the reign of George the Third, to increase and to diffuse knowledge, not only at home, but more especially among rude tribes in the most distant parts of the earth, who, it was hoped, might by such means be rescued from ignorance and superstition, and be made fit to share all the blessings of civilized existence. On former occasions, the patrons of navigation had allowed themselves to be in no small degree influ-

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enced by the prospect of acquiring vast treasures, of descrying new countries where their power might be established, or of improving commerce, whereby private wealth would be augmented, and the national resources enlarged.

Such motives were at one time avowed in all the nations of Europe. The exertions of Columbus, for example, were stimulated not less by the love of glory than by the hope of adding to the magnificence of the monarchs who had countenanced his adventure. The path to India round the eastern Cape was discovered under the action of a similar impulse; and even when the English first touched the shores of North America, they thought not of the natives, whose condition might have excited their pity, but of the mines of gold with which they believed that the mountains every where abounded. In proportion as the mercantile spirit gained strength, the objects of the traveller and navigator became less pure; and it was not till a period comparatively recent that the labours of the discoverer, whether by sea or land, were sanctified by the loftier aim of promoting science, or extending the benefits of religion.

At an earlier period, and when as yet the desire to bring the heathen within the pale of salvation was recognised as the most sacred and the most powerful of all inducements that could lead men to act or to suffer, much toil was endured, and many dangers were braved by christian missionaries, who thought it not too much to travel on foot through savage countries, with the precepts of the gospel in their hands, and its warm benevolence in their hearts. No one can read, without admiration for his zeal and self-denial, the labours of Francis Xavier, who journeyed into far countries, and encountered all the perils incident to an unprotected residence among the fiercest barbarians, that he might convey the knowledge of the cross to the remotest provinces of India. Inspired by a generous love for mankind, and encouraged by the predictions of the Divine Author of his faith, the true Christian has at all times endeavoured to extend

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the influence of its humanizing doctrines and exalted hopes to all the ends of the earth. The command of the Redeemer to propagate his religion was, in the first instance, cheerfully obeyed by the apostles, who, in defiance of the opposition that was marshalled against them, bore the message of truth and good-will into all the nations known in their days to the Greek or the Roman; and as the world became enlarged by new discoveries, their successors carried the same comfortable tidings far beyond the ancient boundaries of geographical science, into those regions where the sun was supposed to rise and set.

Nor is there any reason to believe that the authority of Christ, though continually increasing, has yet approached near to its utmost limits. On the contrary, the present state of the world affords a strong presumption, independently of the numerous predictions contained in the Bible, that the gospel will become the universal religion of mankind. Several christian states have for ages been sending forth large and flourishing colonies into every quarter of the globe: Mohammedans and heathens are not doing the same. Believers, wherever they can find admission, labour to make proselytes, whereas the adherents of other religions are either indifferent about their creeds, or proudly refuse to communicate the superior advantages which they suppose themselves to enjoy. Hence it becomes every year more and more manifest, that the kingdom of the Messiah, by the increase of its own subjects, and by the gradual accession of strangers, will, at no distant period, overspread the whole earth.

When the dark ages fell upon Europe, the views of the faithful were narrowed, and their exertions paralysed. The apostolical example ceased to produce its wonted effect upon their minds; and yielding to the pressure of invasion which rolled down upon them from the North, the more civilized states deemed it enough to protect the archives of Christianity and the works of its greatest authors, in the sacred retreats of monastic life. All in-

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tercourse with distant countries was rendered impracticable by the barbarism which every where prevailed beyond the immediate vicinity of the two capitals of the East and West. In such circumstances, nothing could be effected by the most ardent spirit of charity or of secular enterprise. But no sooner did a way appear to be opened up beyond the limits of the empire, than the christian missionary resumed his holy office, and held himself prepared to follow either the track of the caravan through the Arabian desert, or the march of armies towards the confines of Upper Asia. The Crusades, again, more worthy of praise in their object than for the means adopted by those in whose zeal they had their origin, secured likewise a channel for the propagation of the true faith; and, though the peaceful lessons of the New Testament could not be harmoniously associated with such projects of conquest and revenge as carried too many of the soldiers of the cross into Palestine, an opportunity was afforded for renewing a communication with the interesting tribes between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates, to whom the blessings of Christianity were first offered. From that period down to the present day, endeavours, more or less wise, have been made to extend the knowledge of revealed truth to heathen lands; and the men of our own age, not less active than their predecessors, have witnessed results more gratifying perhaps than any which have crowned the labours of the church since the close of the third century.

The religion of Christ, whether viewed in its origin or early history, makes a claim upon all who profess faith in it, for an active dissemination of its light and hopes. Its first missionaries were instructed to go forth into all the world; and the name of apostles conferred upon them in the inspired writings, denoted at once the nature of their labours, and the delegated authority confided to them by their Divine Master. Most of those qualified to teach, obeyed the solemn injunction communicated to his personal disciples; and many others, who might not have opened their hearts to such motives, accomplished

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the same beneficent object, when scattered abroad by the violence of persecution.

In the nature of things, it seems impossible, with respect to savage countries, that idolatry can be removed, or civilisation introduced, by any other means than the actual arrival of strangers who profess the true religion, and by the continued experience of the benefits which arise from cultivating the arts. The prophet Jeremiah, in the old time, put the question, "hath any nation changed their gods, which yet are no gods?" and the fact involved in this expostulation is confirmed by the experience of mankind in all the forms which society has ever been found to assume, and in all parts of the world hitherto laid open to the inspection of the philosopher or the divine. No tribe has ever yet been known to raise itself from barbarism into knowledge and refinement; the savage has never by his innate powers, emerged from his narrow views and gross habits, so as to originate institutions analogous to those of an instructed people; the child of nature has not, in either hemisphere of our globe, spontaneously "changed his gods," however contemptible, nor elevated his thoughts to the adoration of Him who is a spirit, and who must be worshipped in spirit and in truth.*

It was once an established opinion among a certain class of philosophers that the original condition of man, as he came from the hand of his Maker, differed not materially from the state in which the Hottentots and Patagonians were found by the early discoverers; and that, in the course of ages, he had accomplished a painful passage upwards to civilisation, through the successive stages of pastoral and agricultural life. No hypothesis is less fortified than this by observation and historical research; for there is not on record one instance of a people, in any portion of the earth, having, by their own exertions, thrown off the habits of the barbarian,

* See Jeremiah, chap. ii. ver. 11, and St John's Gospel, chap. iv. ver. 24.

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and engaged in the pursuits of liberal art or philosophical investigation. Hence arises a motive to the benevolent mind, even abstractedly from all considerations of religious duty, to visit with the light of knowledge the numerous tribes who are still involved in the grossest darkness, and subject to all the evils which befall man when unaided by social institutions.*

Viewed under this aspect, the annals of our race will present at once a command and an encouragement to exertion. In allusion to the humanizing effects of the gospel, a distinguished author wrote as follows with respect to our own country at an early age :—"Even over the wild people inhabiting a country as savage as themselves, the Sun of Righteousness arose with healing under his wings. Good men, on whom the name of saint (while not used in a superstitious sense) was justly bestowed, to whom life and the pleasures of the world were as nothing so they could call souls to Christianity, undertook and succeeded in the perilous task of enlightening these savages. Religion, although it did not at first change the manners of nations waxed old in barbarism, failed not to introduce those institutions on which rest the dignity and happiness of social life. The law of marriage was established among them, and all the brutalizing evils of polygamy gave place to the consequences of a union which tends most directly to separate the human from the brute species. The abolition of idolatrous ceremonies took away many brutalizing practices ; and the gospel, like the grain of mustard-seed, grew and flourished, in noiseless increase, insinuating into men's hearts the blessings inseparable from its influence."† It is manifest, in short, that man must be

* The opinions here alluded to will be found developed with great ingenuity by the celebrated Lord Kames, in his "History of Man." An able Answer, written by the late Dr Doig of Stirling, was published anonymously, which is understood to have shaken the faith of the learned judge in his own conclusions.

† History of Scotland, by Sir Walter Scott (Lond. 1830), vol. i. p. 8.

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roused by a foreign influence from his dream of slothful superstition; and in the traditional history of all nations, accordingly, mention is made of a period when some benevolent or powerful stranger arrived, bringing with him the knowledge of letters or a warlike force, by means of which he changed the customs of their fathers. The Greeks have their Cadmus, to whom they attribute the gift of literature. Other tribes refer to Hercules the origin of refinement; and in all may be traced the avatar of some heavenly mind, which taught the barbarian to think and to improve his taste.

In general the savage has been exterminated rather than improved. The white man who coveted his land or his game, has driven the native of the wilderness and the forest from his accustomed haunts; offering to the wild spirits, who had never known a master, the fearful alternative of submission or death. But in the islands of the great Pacific, we are permitted to contemplate a more agreeable scene. The purpose which carried the European thither was neither conquest nor mineral treasure, nor even the more legitimate prospect of commerce, which enriches while it improves the simple cultivator of the soil. Of our own countrymen more especially it may be asserted, that the motive which induced them to renew an intercourse with the inhabitants of the Society Islands, was a desire to ameliorate their condition, by conveying to their shores knowledge, virtue, and religion.

The first expedition thither may indeed appear to have originated in more selfish feelings, as the benefit expected from it had a reference to ourselves rather than to them. About seventeen years after Captain Cook returned from his first voyage, certain merchants and planters interested in the West Indies, represented to his majesty, that the introduction of the bread-fruit-tree into those colonies might prove of the greatest advantage. The king, entering into their views, gave directions that a ship suitable for the important purpose should be forthwith prepared; and the charge of superintending the

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arrangements being committed to Sir Joseph Banks, nothing was left undone which seemed necessary to secure ultimate success. We now allude to the Bounty, commanded by Lieutenant Bligh, whose name is so closely connected with the unhappy mutiny which ensued; the sufferings of that portion of the crew who remained faithful to him; with the melancholy fate of several of the officers; and the occupation of Pitcairn Island by some of the deserters. At the close of 1787, this vessel sailed from Portsmouth, and on the 25th October, in the following year, arrived at Otaheite. The chief ruler of the district, named Otoo, immediately on hearing that an English ship had entered his port, sent a pig and a young plantain tree as a token of friendship. The sailors also were plentifully supplied with provisions. Indeed, the commander relates, that the longer he and his people remained on the island, the more they had occasion to be pleased with the conduct of the inhabitants. In every house they entered, they experienced a kind reception from the simple inmates, who, we are told, had the most perfect easiness of manner, equally free from forwardness and formality, displaying a sincerity and candour which were quite delightful. When, for instance, refreshments were presented, if they were not accepted, they did not think of offering them a second time, not having the least idea of that ceremonious kind of refusal which expects a renewed or more earnest invitation. On one occasion the Bounty had nearly gone on shore in a tremendous gale of wind, and on a similar occurrence did actually get aground; after both which accidents the kind-hearted people crowded round the captain to congratulate him on her escape, being affected in the most lively manner while the danger lasted.

Mr Bligh alludes to a singular custom in the burial of the dead, which, if not borrowed from European navigators, cannot fail to suggest important reflections. On the 9th December 1788, the surgeon died from the combined effects of intemperance and indolence. The lieutenant obtained permission to inter him on shore;

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and on going with the chief, now named Tinah, to the spot selected for the solemn duty, he found the natives had already begun to dig the grave. "Tinah asked if they were doing it right; there," said he, "the sun rises and there it sets." Whether the idea of making the grave east and west is their own, or whether they had learned it from the Spaniards, who buried the captain of their ship on the island in 1774, there were no means of ascertaining; but it was clearly made out that they received no intimation to that effect from any one on board the Bounty. When the funeral took place, the chiefs and several of the natives attended the ceremony, and showed much seriousness during the service. Many of the principal inhabitants presented themselves at divine worship on Sundays, and behaved with great decency. Some of the women at one time betrayed an inclination to laugh at the general responses; but a single look of disapprobation was sufficient to revive their gravity and decorum.*

After a stay of six months at Otaheite Mr Bligh made preparations to depart, having on board all the plants supplied by the sovereign of the island, "being in seven hundred and seventy-four pots, thirty-nine tubs, and twenty-four boxes." The number of bread-fruit plants were one thousand and fifteen; besides which they had collected others: the *avee*, which is one of the finest-flavoured fruits in the world; the *ayyah*, which is a fruit not so rich but of a fine flavour and very refreshing; the *rattah*, not much unlike a chestnut, which grows on a large tree in great quantities; and the *orai-ab*, which is a very superior kind of plantain. "For twenty-three weeks," he observes, "we had been treated with the utmost affection and regard, and which seemed to increase in proportion to our stay. That we were not insensible to their kindness, the events which followed

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* Eventful History of the Mutiny and Piratical Seizure of H. M. S. Bounty; its Cause and Consequences (12mo, Lond. 1831), pp. 55, 56.

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more than sufficiently prove; for to the friendly and endearing behaviour of these people may be ascribed the motives for that event which effected the ruin of an expedition that there was every reason to hope would have been completed in the most fortunate manner." The catastrophe here alluded to will invite the attention of the reader in a subsequent part of this volume.

At an earlier period than that now under our consideration, the principal islands in the Georgian group were visited by certain Spanish ships, sent from Peru to make discoveries in the Pacific. In 1772, two natives of Otaheite consented to accompany the navigators to America, where they were baptized; and the second season afterwards they were allowed to return home attended by two missionaries belonging to the Church of Rome. For the accommodation of these visiters a wooden house was erected near the shore in Oheitepeha Bay. But the Spaniards wished to gratify their love of dominion as well as to extend the empire of the true faith. Before the ships departed the commander called a meeting of the chiefs who had taken the priests under their protection, described to them the grandeur of his sovereign, and informed them of his right to all their islands. The natives, it is added, manifested much complaisance, and by acclamation acknowledged the King of Spain owner of Otaheite, as well as of the whole cluster of which it is the most important member. Whereupon he informed them that if they preserved their fidelity and fulfilled their promises, they should be frequently visited by his ships. In 1775, they made sail for Peru, carrying again two of the inhabitants with them; and after the lapse of ten months the missionaries themselves embraced an opportunity of returning to European society in the government of Lima. When Captain Cook, in 1777, paid a visit to Taiarapoo, he saw the dwelling which they had abandoned. It consisted of two rooms; loop-holes were cut all around, which seemed to serve the double purpose of admitting air and promoting defence. A wooden cross with suitable inscriptions denoted that christian ministers

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had favoured the island with their presence; that the gospel in their persons had gained a triumph over idolatry; and that their monarch, Charles the Third, continued to exercise his power on all the shores washed by the Pacific. At their departure they left the more valuable boon of hogs and goats, which added a little variety to the simple fare of the inhabitants; but no evidence remains that the priests ever held a free intercourse with those whom they had intended to convert, or produced any lasting impression either on their belief or their morals.*

Captain Cook maintains that the Spaniards did not succeed in making one convert. It does not appear, he adds, that they ever attempted it; for, if the natives are to be believed, they never conversed with them on the subject of religion or any other. Before they went away they gave an assurance to Otoo that they meant to return, and to bring with them houses, all kinds of animals, as well as numerous men and women, who were to settle in the island. The unsuspecting monarch seemed pleased with the idea of such an accession to his subjects; "little thinking," says the navigator, "that the completion of it would at once deprive him of his kingdom, and the people of their liberties. This shows with what facility a settlement might be made at Otaheite; which, grateful as I am for repeated good offices, I hope will never happen. Our occasional visits may in some respects have benefited its inhabitants; but a permanent establishment amongst them, conducted as most European establishments amongst Indians have unfortunately been, would, I fear, give them just cause to lament that

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* Burney's Chronological History of the Voyages and Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean (5 vols 4to, Lond. 1803-1817), vol. iv. p. 570. Captain Cook (Voyage to the Pacific, vol. ii. p. 75) mentions that "the hogs are of a large kind; have greatly improved the breed originally found by us upon the island; and at the time of our arrival were very numerous. Goats are also in tolerable plenty, there being hardly a chief of any note who has not got some."

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our ships had ever found them out. Indeed, it is very unlikely that any measure of this kind should ever be seriously thought of, as it can neither serve the purposes of public ambition nor of private avarice; and without such inducements I may pronounce that it will never be undertaken."*

We have made this quotation from the work of the great navigator, on account of the remark contained in the last sentence;—that without the stimulants of public ambition or private gain, no establishment would ever be attempted among the islanders of the South Sea. The accounts received in England of an interesting people living in a secluded situation in that remote part of the world, gave birth in due time to a sentiment more powerful than either ambition or avarice, the desire, namely, to extend to them the blessings of religion and moral improvement. So early as the year 1791, when Captain Bligh made a second voyage in a ship called the Providence, he was accompanied by several individuals who undertook to discharge the office of missionaries. But, owing to a defect in the zeal or qualifications of these persons, their labours were unattended with success: and it was not till four years later that a plan, constructed on better principles, was confided to men whose minds were more fitly attuned to the spirit of the important enterprise in which they engaged.

That pious, though rather eccentric person, Selina, countess of Huntingdon, contributed not a little to the generous efforts, which marked the close of the eighteenth century, in favour of the gentle savages of the Pacific, whose manners had fascinated the rough seamen by whom they were successively visited. Actuated by a strong desire that a knowledge of the christian religion should be conveyed to them, she is said on her death-bed to have exacted from a clergyman, who had co-operated with her in other schemes of benevolence, a

* Cook's Voyage to the Pacific (3 vols 4to, Lond. 1785), vol. ii. p. 77.

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promise to make some attempt to realize it. In 1795, the Missionary Society was formed, the main object of which was to disseminate the light of divine truth over all the dark regions of the earth. The following year saw thirty teachers embark in the Thames, on board of a ship called the Duff, under the command of Captain Wilson, whose name is favourably associated with this most generous project. On the 23d September, they left the shores of Britain; and, in the beginning of the succeeding March, they descried the bold outline of Otaheite on the verge of the horizon.

Of the persons selected to discharge the duties of this important undertaking, four are described as "ordained ministers;" the rest were mechanics of various orders, qualified to teach the useful arts, or to exercise them in their own behalf. The directors inform us that they were desirous to obtain some possessed of literary attainments; but they were not less solicitous to procure adepts in such manual occupations as would make them most acceptable to the heathen in that state of inferior civilisation to which they had advanced. Only those candidates were received whose characters could bear the most minute examination, and who, besides, could produce evidence of superior intelligence and a hearty devotedness to the great cause to which they were about to consecrate their exertions during the remainder of their lives.*

On the 7th March 1797, the missionaries landed on the shore of Otaheite, where they were met by the king and queen, who received them in a very cordial manner. The strangers were immediately conducted to a large house, which the natives had erected for the accommodation of Captain Bligh, whom they still expected to return. Nor were the generous rulers satisfied with this act of kindness towards their visiters; they also ceded in a formal manner to Captain Wilson and his passen-

* Wilson's Missionary Voyage in the Ship Duff, p. 4.

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gers the whole district of Matavai, in which their dwelling was situated. Presentations of this kind, it is said, were not uncommon among the islanders as a matter of courtesy to a guest; but, generally speaking, the persons who received the compliment did not think of appropriating the lands or plantations to their own use. It is believed, however, such was the estimate of the advantages expected to result from the residence of the missionaries among them, that, in order to afford every facility for the accomplishment of an object so desirable, the people as well as the chiefs were sincere in making the cession now mentioned. But no attempt is made to conceal the motives which led to such munificence. Whatever advantages the king or his advisers might hope to derive from the settlement of the English on his island, it is clear that as yet they were not influenced by any desire to receive instruction either secular or religious. This was made manifest by some remarks which at a later period dropped from one of the leaders, who said that the missionaries gave the people plenty of talk and prayer, but very few knives, axes, scissors, or cloth. A wish to possess such property, and to receive the assistance of the Europeans in the exercise of the mechanical arts, or in their wars, was probably the motive by which the natives were most strongly influenced.*

It will not be denied, that the selection of the persons who, on this occasion, were destined to labour in the arduous field of a South Sea Mission, was regulated by prudence, as well as by a due regard to the ultimate object which it was meant they should accomplish. The mixture of artificers with men of a higher class, who had devoted their thoughts to professional learning, so far from being objectionable, sets forth in the clearest light the wisdom and intelligence on which the whole scheme was founded. It proceeded on the judicious determination to combine with the elements of christian knowledge the means of expanding the minds and improving

* Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. p. 9.

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the taste of the inhabitants; to bestow upon them, in short, the habits of civilized men, as well as the refined sentiments and exalted hopes of true believers.

On no point have the friends of missions differed more than as to the mode in which their labours should be commenced, and the means whereby their benevolent objects might, in the first instance, be most effectually realized. Judging from the analogy of the Divine proceedings in the introduction of Christianity into the world, where much schooling and a fulness of time were required to prepare the minds of men for profiting by the higher knowledge about to be conveyed to them, it might be inferred that the peculiar doctrines of the gospel ought not to be revealed to the heathen until they shall have been somewhat fitted for receiving them, by inuring their minds to such intellectual exercises as will almost necessarily lead to reasoning and reflection. This inference may be farther strengthened, by calling to mind the injunction addressed to the first apostles of our faith, who were commanded to teach all nations, and then to initiate them into the christian covenant by the sacrament of baptism. For a time, too, the blessings of the New Law were restricted to those who, during several centuries, had been under that schoolmaster, whose teaching, however obscure in its elements, was calculated to make them ready for higher attainments. It has therefore become a maxim among the most distinguished of theological writers, that "men must be rational and civilized before they can be made Christians, because knowledge has a happy tendency to enlarge the mind and to encourage generous sentiments." On similar grounds it has been maintained, that "Christianity cannot immediately transform the minds of men, and totally change the general temper and complexion of any people; but, on the contrary, it will thereby itself undergo considerable alteration, and its own influence and effect depend thereon. And as barbarous and savage nations are unable to bear the truth, so vicious and immoral ones are in like manner incapable of bringing

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forth the fruits thereof. If such a people did receive the true religion, they would immediately drop it again."*

Such conclusions derive no small confirmation from the history of missions in general, and even from that of the successive attempts which have been made to convert the natives of the South Sea Islands. At first the sublime truths of revelation were received with so much apathy and carelessness, that they made no impression on the flexible minds to which they were addressed. The yielding savages listened to instruction with the apparent docility of children: their natural softness of temper inclined them to accept with an air of gratitude a boon which seemed to be highly valued by those who offered it; but, during a period of nearly twenty years, the zeal of the preachers was not rewarded by the conversion of a single individual whose example could have any effect upon others. It may be observed, too, that a path was gradually opened up for the reception of the gospel among the inhabitants of the Society and Georgian groups, by the respect which they entertained for a people who had made so great an advance in the arts which minister to human power and comfort. They concluded, that the god who could teach his votaries to print books, make gunpowder, and build ships of war, must be greatly superior to their own idols, who could contribute nothing to the embellishment of peace, and afford little aid in the day of battle. There cannot be any doubt that it was with the view of improving his subjects in the mechanical arts, and more especially augmenting his military resources, rather than with any reference to spiritual advantages, that Pomare finally resolved to abjure the absurdities of the superstition in which he had been educated.

The annals of all countries where Europeans have planted their literature and religion afford instruction

* These opinions were the result of profound reflection on the part of Dr Nathaniel Lardner, and of Bishop Law, the celebrated author of the "Considerations on the Theory of Religion."

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as well as warning relative to the manner in which the minds of ignorant tribes should be approached with the principles of theological knowledge. The Spaniards in America, not less than the Portuguese in Africa, were chargeable with much imprudence in this respect. To the pious men who followed the steps of the invaders in either continent, it seemed sufficient if they could induce the uninstructed natives to receive baptism, or to observe, even mechanically, certain forms of the church; and hence it cannot appear surprising that Christianity failed to obtain any permanent footing in those parts of the world, notwithstanding the earnest desire with which the conversion of the people was pursued by the clergy and encouraged by the government.

It was long ago remarked, that whatever might be the merit of the Spanish ecclesiastics, the success of their endeavours in communicating the knowledge of true religion to the Indians was more imperfect than might have been expected, either from the amount of their own zeal, or from the dominion which they had acquired over their minds. For this failure various reasons may be assigned. The first missionaries, in their ardour to make proselytes, admitted them into the church without previous instruction in the doctrines of religion, and even before they themselves had acquired such knowledge of the several languages as to be able to explain to their converts the mysteries of faith or the precepts of duty. Resting upon a subtile distinction in scholastic theology, between that degree of assent which is founded upon a complete knowledge and conviction of duty, and that which may be yielded where both these are imperfect, they adopted this strange practice, no less inconsistent with the spirit of a religion which addresses itself to the understanding of men than repugnant to the dictates of reason. As soon as any body of the inhabitants, overawed by the dread of power, or moved by the example of their own chiefs, expressed the slightest desire of embracing the creed of their invaders, they were instantly baptized. While this rage of conversion

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continued, a single clergyman performed that sacred rite to more than five thousand Mexicans in one day, and did not desist until he was so exhausted by fatigue that he could not lift his hands. In the course of a few years, after the Spaniards had completed their conquest, the same sacrament was administered to upwards of four millions of the natives. Proselytes adopted with such inconsiderate haste, and who were neither instructed in the nature of the tenets to which it was supposed they had given assent, nor taught the absurdity of those which they were required to relinquish, retained their veneration for their ancient superstitions in full force, or mingled an attachment to its usages with that slender knowledge of Christianity which they had acquired. These sentiments the new converts transmitted to their posterity, into whose minds they have sunk so deep that the European priests, with all their industry, have not been able to eradicate them. Hence the religious institutions of their ancestors were long remembered and held in honour by many of the Indians both in Mexico and Peru; and whenever they thought themselves secure from the inspection of their conquerors, they assembled to celebrate their idolatrous rites.

Nor were those the only obstacles to the progress of the gospel among the native population of South America. The powers of their uncultivated understandings were so limited, their observations and reflections reached so little beyond the mere objects of sense, that they seemed hardly to have the capacity of forming abstract ideas, while they possessed not language fitted to express them. To such men, the sublime and spiritual doctrines of Christianity must have been, in a great measure, incomprehensible. The splendid ceremonies of the popish worship, no doubt, caught the eye, and pleased the imagination; but when their instructors attempted to explain the articles of faith with which the external observances were connected, they so little conceived the meaning of what they heard, that their acquiescence could not merit the name of belief. Nor was their indifference

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less than their incapacity. Attentive only to the present moment, and engrossed by the objects before them, neither the promises nor the threatenings of religion made much impression upon their hearts. Astonished equally at their slowness of comprehension and insensibility, a council held at Lima decreed that they ought to be excluded from the solemnity of the Eucharist; and after the lapse of two centuries, during which they continued members of the church, so small were their attainments in knowledge that very few possessed such a portion of spiritual discernment as to be deemed worthy of being admitted to the holy communion. Even now, after the most perfect instruction, their faith is held to be feeble and dubious; and though some of them have gone through the ordinary course of academic education with applause, their constancy is still so much suspected that they are rarely elevated to the priesthood, or received into any religious order.*

A similar lesson may be derived from the hasty proceedings of the Portuguese among the savages of Africa. When Bemoy, a native prince, appeared at Lisbon to solicit military aid from the king, he was informed that, in order to entitle himself to the favour of his majesty, he must consent to be previously washed in the waters of baptism. It does not appear that the heathen chief manifested any reluctance to comply with a condition from which he was to derive such an important advantage. Decorum, however, requiring that some form of instruction should be observed, he was placed under the tuition of several learned doctors; and no sooner was a

* Torquemada, Monarchia Indiana (3 vols folio, Madrid, 1723), lib. xvii. chap. 13. Ulloa, Voyage Historique de l'Amerique Meridionale (2 vols 4to, Paris), vol. i. p. 343. Robertson's History of America (4 vols 8vo, Lond.), vol. iv. p. 57. Clavigero has attempted to invalidate the statement made above, as to the exclusion of Indians from the sacrament and holy orders; but he ventures not to deny that the doctrines of Christianity were received with apathy, imperfectly comprehended, and frequently postponed to the more captivating usages of the native superstition.

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favourable report made of his attainments as a catechumen than he was formally admitted within the pale of the visible church.

At a later period, the King of Congo was baptized, together with all his nobles, and a hundred thousand of his subjects. In return for his zeal in this speedy conversion of his people, he was presented with a standard bearing a cross, the same, we are assured, that Innocent VIII. had granted to the crusaders for the war against the infidels. But although nothing could be more promising than this establishment of the catholic faith in the realm of Congo, insuperable difficulties were soon created. After the first ceremonies had passed, the missionaries considered it their duty to intimate to the king, that as a proof of his sincerity in the new belief, he must consent to dismiss his numerous seraglio, and confine himself to one wife. This restriction appeared to the monarch so intolerable, as well as inexpedient, that, rather than submit to it, he forthwith renounced Christianity, and returned with all his chiefs to the practice of his wonted paganism. Such an event, which might have discouraged less resolute agents, neither cooled the zeal nor improved the wisdom of the Portuguese. Having formed establishments along the coast, they received, under the sanction of the papal court, a body of missionaries; who, being monks of the strictest order, and deeply imbued with all the prejudices of their class, failed equally in communicating the best form of religion, and in the most conciliatory manner. These were followed by a detachment of capuchins, who assumed a station at the mouth of the river, where a convent was built, with the concurrence of the pagan monarch, who at once supplied to them all the comforts he could provide, and a great number of willing converts who vied with each other in the desire for baptism.

Almost every mission, at the commencement, proceeded in a very prosperous manner. So long as the exertions of the spiritual fathers were confined to that rite, to the exhibition of images, and the distribution of beads, the

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people were delighted by becoming Christians. But they seem not to have apprehended that this profession would in any degree interfere with their ancient habits and superstitions. When these were attacked, and more especially when the arrangements respecting their females were called in question, a violent controversy always arose. Nevertheless the capuchins persevered, and by the several journeys which they accomplished into the interior, they brought to the knowledge of the European world many important facts, illustrative of the customs and manners of the several tribes, as well as of the mysterious regions which stretch between the Congo and the great desert. On their way they occasionally saw the roads covered with persons coming to be baptized. Whole villages flocked to them ; so that they were often obliged to spend successive days in the pleasant labour of admitting their numerous converts into the church. At Congo-Batta they found their services in such request that they could scarcely find time for food or sleep. But after nearly the whole city and neighbourhood had been christened, they made a discovery not less mortifying perhaps to their spiritual zeal than to their human pride. According to the Roman ritual, one part of the ceremony consists in placing salt upon the mouth ; which circumstance, as that substance in Africa is scarce and an object of luxury, was found to have no small effect in producing the cheerfulness with which the nation came to the washing of regeneration. When the reverend fathers had acquired a knowledge of their language, they perceived that the sole idea which the natives attached to the rite was the eating of this small quantity of salt ; nor by their utmost efforts did they succeed in changing either the language or the feelings so unhappily connected with this most important subject.

These instances of premature conversion have been adduced, with the view of illustrating the inconvenience which must always arise from the attempt to combine with the rude conceptions of the heathen mind the elevated doctrines of Christianity. The mysteries of the

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incarnation and atonement, which are received by the faithful in enlightened countries with a reverential silence and the most profound humility, are described by the young disciples in savage lands, in terms that cannot fail to give offence to piety, being destitute at once of respect and decorum. The associations formed in the fancy of an idolater between a god and his progeny, are very unhappily applied to the mysterious event which took place at Bethlehem ; and the language arising from such gross ideas seems to contaminate the purer notions with which all the essential tenets of the gospel are linked in the imagination of a European. For examples of the evil to which allusion is now made, we might refer to some portions of Polynesian history, where the Redeemer is mentioned and his offices described in words not more spiritual than might be applied to a son of Oro, or a descendant of Taaroa.

It is almost inseparable from the duties of an uninspired missionary to exaggerate the amount of his success by contemplating the increased number of his proselytes. This weakness has been displayed in many instances both by Protestants and Roman Catholics. They have too frequently been satisfied with qualifications extremely meagre and imperfect ; admitting to the most sacred ordinances numerous individuals who ought not to have been considered above the rank of mere catechumens. Of this imprudent haste the missions sent into Africa and New Spain afford memorable examples ; followed, too, by the natural result, a total failure in the mean time, and an increase of difficulties for the future. Even in Eimeo, one of the Georgian Islands, a manifest eagerness was displayed to obtain the names of persons who might rank as converts before the principles of Christianity were either explained or understood. Thirty-one, who had declared that they had renounced the idols and every practice connected with their ancient superstition, requested to be enrolled among those who desired to worship Jehovah, and to become disciples of Christ. But others who "intended to cast away the

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idols, refused to have their names written down at that time."

Nor do the missionaries themselves make any attempt to conceal that their success at first was very limited, and their prospects far from encouraging. They admit the accuracy of the representation made by a traveller several years after they had commenced their labours, that the congregation in Otaheite did not exceed fifty persons. At the conclusion of divine service, Otoo the king asked the stranger whether it was all true that the preachers taught. The latter replied in the affirmative, assuring him that it was strictly so, according to his own belief, and the conviction of all the wiser and better part of his countrymen. "He demanded of me where Jehovah lived: I pointed to the heavens. He said he did not believe it. His brother was, if possible, still worse: they said it was all falsehood."* Indeed, nothing is more remarkable in the characters of the meritorious men who first visited the southern hemisphere with the gospel in their hands, than the perseverance which they have manifested in defiance of much suffering and repeated disappointments. That many who received the truth from their lips were not duly qualified for the full appreciation of its benefits cannot be denied; but no one who has perused the record of their exertions, perils, and afflictions, will ascribe the deficiency to any defect of zeal on their part, wherever they were permitted to exercise their ministry.

Under such impressions, both in regard to the sincerity of the missionaries and the good they have effected, it is not without pain that we advert to less favourable opinions entertained by writers whose sentiments cannot fail to have much weight with the public. One, after relating that he had been present at a religious assembly in Otaheite, enters into a comparison of the present state of the island with what it was before the introduction of Christianity, and arrives at a conclusion

* Turnbull's Voyage round the World in the Years 1800-1804 (3 vols 8vo, Lond. 1805), vol. iii. p. 10.

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very unfavourable to the wisdom and even to the motives of the English teachers. The religion they have established is not, he maintains, that which is revealed in the New Testament, while it has, according to his views, been the fertile source of contention, deceit, and hypocrisy. Having gained over to their doctrine the chief ruler of a district, "the conversion acted upon the peaceful population like a spark thrown into a powder magazine, and was followed by a fearful explosion. The old temples were destroyed; every memorial of the former worship defaced; and whoever would not adopt the new creed was put to a cruel death. With the zeal for making proselytes, the rage of tigers took possession of a people once so gentle. Streams of blood flowed; whole races were exterminated; and many resolutely met the death they preferred to the renunciation of their ancient faith. Some few escaped by flight to the recesses of the lofty mountains, where they lived in seclusion, faithful to the gods of their ancestors." True Christianity, he remarks, and a liberal government, might have soon given to this people, endued by nature with the seeds of every social virtue, a rank among civilized nations. Under such a blessed influence, the arts and sciences would soon have taken root, the intellect of the natives would have expanded, and a just estimation of all that is good and beautiful would have refined their manners and ennobled their hearts. Europe would soon have admired, perhaps envied, Otaheite; but the religion taught by the missionaries is not, he repeats, genuine Christianity, though it may possibly comprehend some of its doctrines but half understood by the teachers themselves.

The same author admits, indeed, that the teaching of the missionaries has, with a great deal of evil, effected some good. It has abolished heathen superstitions and an irrational worship, but he maintains that it has introduced new errors in their stead. It has restrained the vices of theft and incontinence, but it has given birth to bigotry, hypocrisy, and a hatred of all other modes of faith. It has put an end to the avowed sacrifice of men,

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but many more human beings, says he, have been actually sacrificed to it than ever were to their heathen gods. The bloody persecution instigated by the missionaries has performed the office of a desolating plague. "I really believe," he concludes, "that these pious people were themselves shocked at the consequences of their zeal; but they soon consoled themselves, and have ever continued to watch with the most vigilant severity over the maintenance of every article of their faith. Hence the former industry, and the joyous buoyancy of spirits, have been changed for continual praying, and meditating upon things which the teachers understand as little as the taught."*

Similar opinions given by other maritime adventurers have been re-echoed by the public journals; and an impression has been very generally produced, that the European teachers have to answer for more evil than will ever be compensated by their most zealous services. Alluding to Otaheite, one of them observes, that "this fine romantic island appears, morally speaking, to be in a most deplorable condition. The missionaries have contrived to obtain an entire ascendency, but their labours have as yet been productive of little good." It is maintained that these pious men have overshot the mark which they ought to have aimed at; and, by attempting too much, have failed in that which, with more patience and less ambition, they might have accomplished. They have ostensibly succeeded in christianizing nearly the whole population, who have been generally inspired with contempt for their former superstitions. But, it is alleged, that, in eradicating these, they have failed to substitute any better principle in their stead; and that the only effect produced by the change has been to degrade our religion to the level of the most brutish idolatry, without making the slightest advance towards raising

* Kotzebue's Voyage round the World in the Years 1823-1826 (2 vols 12mo, Lond. 1830), vol. i. p. 159.

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their unhappy proselytes to the rank of Christians. Hence the authority to which we now refer maintains, that the people are still as much barbarians as ever they were : nay, that they are worse, having borrowed from civilisation nothing but the vices by which it is dishonoured, and exhibiting in their character a deplorable union of all that is most corrupt and profligate in the two opposite states of society which are thus brought into juxtaposition. Drunkenness is universal ; the late king died of intoxication, and numbers of the degraded people terminate their existence in the same way. The effects of this indulgence upon savage natures, and the scenes to which it gives rise, may be easily imagined. The immediate consequence is, the most abject wretchedness, together with all the crimes which invariably belong to the lowest condition of human existence. It is justly remarked, that the first step towards civilizing a people is to form them to habits of industry, and if possible to create in their minds a desire to better their condition. But nothing of this kind, it is asserted, has as yet been seriously attempted. The missionaries seem more disposed to act the part of legislators than instructors of the Otaheitans. They have, says their accuser, been at infinite pains to get up a mock parliament ; but hitherto they appear to have found no leisure for the more obscure and humble labours which can alone prepare a people for receiving political institutions.*

To those who have read with any degree of attention the several records of missionary labour in the South Sea, it must be manifest, that the Russian commander, besides yielding to a strong prejudice by which, perhaps unconsciously, he had allowed his mind to be warped, has fallen into some important mistakes. For example, his

* Edinburgh Review, vol. liii. p. 217. It is deserving of notice, that most of the leading periodicals have formed unfavourable judgments respecting the character and doings of the South Sea missionaries. Not only the journal now quoted, but also the Quarterly Review and the Westminster have assumed a hostile attitude towards those painful labourers.

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statement that Christianity was established by force in Otaheite, derives no support from any authentic narrative. By what means, it has been asked, could a few unarmed men, encumbered with their wives and children, dependent at every moment for their lives upon the disposition of the inhabitants towards them, so far influence the king of the island and his adherents to adopt a system of religion opposed to all their hereditary opinions and habits, as to induce them to engage in its propagation, and the others to submit to its precepts? The missionaries, as their own journals show, were long exposed to violence and rapacity. Turnbull, who dwelt many months at Matavai some years after their arrival, relates that, besides the numerous sufferings they endured at the hands of the natives, they encountered many hardships and dangers inflicted by their own countrymen. Certain Europeans, at that time resident in the island, instead of assisting these worthy persons in their forlorn situation, took a malicious pleasure in counteracting their efforts, in misrepresenting their views, and even in stirring up the inhabitants to the most furious outrages. After remarking that the preachers lived together in the greatest affection, and presented an example of unremitting industry, he adds, "their situation is by no means so comfortable as many of their friends may be inclined to imagine. Their life is a life of contest, hardship, and disappointment; like their holy master, they have to preach to the deaf, and exhibit their works to the blind.*

Facts, which cannot be contested, will be found to prove, that Christianity, so far from being planted in the islands of the South Sea by violent means, was introduced through much patience and tribulation. The missionaries were the victims, not the authors, of persecution, which they sustained with fortitude, and, if occasion offered, requited with kindness. In the summer of 1815, certain idolatrous chiefs at Pare and Matavai joined

* Voyage round the World, vol. ii. p. 85.

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in a conspiracy against their mild teachers, proposing to cut them all off. But thinking themselves unequal to the task, those of the new religion being already formidable both in number and respectability, they acquainted the leaders of Atahuru and Papara with their views, and invited them to join. These, though their ancient rivals and enemies, came most readily into the measure, and prepared to co-operate without delay: and on the night of the 7th of July, these combined forces were to fall on such as had renounced heathenism and exterminate them utterly. But some of the confederates being rather dilatory, and secret intelligence having been conveyed to the party whose destruction was meditated, these last rushed on board their canoes and set sail for Eimeo, where they arrived in safety next morning. The chiefs, disappointed in their object, employed their arms against one another with great fury. All the north-eastern portion of Otaheite was burnt or plundered; for the question of religion being forgotten, the savage captains fought merely to revenge former injuries.

The most ardent patrons of missions will not maintain that in no instance has zeal overstepped the bounds of prudence, or that pearls have not occasionally been thrown before swine, who tried to turn again and rend their benefactors. But to justify the use of the means which have been employed, they point with satisfaction, and even some degree of triumph, to the effects which are already produced. They can assert, that wherever Christianity has been received, however imperfectly, the habits of the natives are improved, their fierce tempers have been mollified, and a respect for human life has succeeded to that thirst for blood which formerly occasioned the most deplorable catastrophes. In all the islands where the missionaries have succeeded in establishing a settlement, security is now afforded to the mariner of every nation, who either seeks refuge from misfortune, the intercourse of trade, or the gratification of a liberal curiosity. At other places, on the contrary, where

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the mild spirit of the gospel has not yet been felt, scarcely a year passes in which we do not hear of murderous quarrels between the inhabitants and those by whom they are visited. At some of the Marquesas, till very lately, a trading vessel scarcely dared to anchor. In the Friendly Islands, according to the statement of a recent author, while the chiefs were manifesting the strongest attachment to Captain Cook, they planned the assassination of himself and all his officers, and with this view invited them to an entertainment by torch-light. Even on the shore of Otaheite, when Bligh's vessel arrived, the people cut the cables, in order that, being drifted on the beach, she might fall into their hands as plunder. Some years afterwards, the Society islanders seized an English brig, murdered the officers, killed or disabled the crew, and took possession of her; but since the lessons of the christian teachers have been given, every ship that has touched there, or at any other in the adjacent groups, has been as safe as in the Thames or the Weser.*

Numerous testimonials from seafaring persons present themselves, corroborative of the statements just made, and illustrating the happy change which has been achieved in the character of the natives by the benign influence of Christianity. The captain of an American trader, wrecked on the coast of Rurutoo, relates that the islanders, formerly noted for their savage propensities, assisted him in landing his cargo, carried the goods to the mission-house, a distance of half-a-mile, and deposited them in safety. Not a single article of clothing was taken from any man belonging to the ship, though there was an opportunity of abstracting not only the property of the sailors, but even some valuable commodities which would have conferred unknown wealth upon the captors. He afterwards lived ashore among the simple

* A Vindication of the South Sea Missions, &c. By William Ellis (8vo, Lond. 1831), p. 47. An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands, compiled from the Communications of Mr William Mariner (2 vols 18mo, Edin. 1827), vol. ii. pp. 71, 72.

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people, from whom he, his officers, and crew, "received the kindest treatment that could be imagined," and for which, says he, "I shall ever be thankful." Well might another navigator, who had just escaped from the hands of the unbaptized barbarians of Whytootake, exclaim to a christian teacher, "now we see more than ever what has been done by you and the missionaries on the islands where you have resided, and the trouble you have had in bringing the natives from what they were to what they are at present."*

We have already adverted to the suppression of human sacrifices, of infanticide, of licentious commemorations, and of other usages incompatible with the feelings of a sound morality. To these improvements in the sentiments and habits of the people—the happy fruits of true religion—we shall hereafter have occasion to direct the attention of the reader more fully. Meantime, we proceed to notice other advantages which have sprung from missionary exertion in reference to domestic intercourse and the useful arts.

No picture is more deceitful than that which exhibits the supposed innocence and delights of savage life. The child of nature is usually represented as being free from envy and all the factitious passions of civilized existence; a stranger to covetousness and ambition; happy in the enjoyments of those around him; content with his present lot, and having no apprehension in regard to the future. Oppressed by no care, burdened by no toil, tormented by no restless desire, seldom visited by sickness, his wants easily satisfied, his pleasures often recurring, the Otaheitan was conceived to pass his days in uninterrupted felicity, under the magnificent sky of the tropics, and amid scenes worthy of paradise. But a closer view disclosed a very different state of things. The lower classes were unmercifully plundered and oppressed by their superiors; domestic happiness, in its

* Vindication of the South Sea Missions, p. 51, where many similar proofs of growing civilisation will be found.

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proper sense, was unknown; the females were reduced to the greatest debasement, not being allowed to partake of the same food with their husbands and brothers, and not even permitted to dress it at the same fire, or place it in the same basket. It is farther asserted, that they were, generally speaking, without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful, and that, under the dominion of the worst of propensities, they often acted more like fiends than human beings. "That there should," says Forster, "exist so great a degree of immorality in a nation, otherwise so happy in its simplicity and in the fewness of its wants, is a reflection very disgraceful to human nature in general, which, viewed to its greatest advantage here, is nevertheless imperfect." That this immorality did exist is not denied by one of the most ardent admirers of the Polynesians, who to the observation of a philosopher could add the advantage of a repeated residence amongst them.*

It is no doubt asserted by various authors who have recently visited the islands of the South Sea, that the wickedness of the natives has only changed its form, and that their indulgences, though less open than formerly, are equally flagitious. This accusation seems not to be well founded. True it is, that many who have ceased to do evil, after the manner of their unconverted countrymen, have not yet learned to do well, to the full extent of their christian obligations. Where sins are gross and shameful, the first step is more easily taken than the

* Forster's Voyage round the World in his Britannic Majesty's Sloop Resolution, commanded by Captain James Cook, during the Years 1772, 1773, 1774, and 1775 (2 vols 4to, Lond. 1777), vol. i. p. 337. Mr Forster nevertheless marked many good qualities in the people of Otaheite. "We now saw the character of the natives in a more favourable light than ever, and were convinced that the remembrance of injuries and the spirit of revenge did not enter into the composition of the good and simple Taheitans. It must surely be a comfortable reflection to every sensible mind, that philanthropy seems to be natural to mankind, and that the savage ideas of distrust, malevolence, and revenge, are only the consequence of a gradual depravation of manners."

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second; and hence the missionary finds less opposition when he denounces a flagrant iniquity than when he enjoins a needful virtue or a becoming grace. Those who read with attention the Epistles of St Paul to his converts, in the most refined parts of the Roman empire, will perceive that, though they had abjured the abominations of heathenism and the useless ceremonies of the Mosaical law, their conduct did not, in all cases, throw a suitable light on the purer principles which they had openly professed. The fifth and sixth chapters of his first letter to the Corinthians prove but too clearly that the licentiousness of pagan manners did not yield, all at once, to the holy precepts of the gospel, nor to the instructive example of its self-denied teachers.

Much allowance ought therefore to be made whenever a comparison is instituted between what the christianized savage is, and what he ought to be,—a remark which acquires double force when applied to Polynesia, where the influence of religion is so frequently counteracted by hostile causes. Of these, perhaps one of the most pernicious is the introduction of ardent spirits. Rum, we are assured, has been productive of more misery than firearms and all the European diseases with which the natives have been afflicted. When the gospel was first established among them, drunkenness was universally discountenanced; and even now the use of intoxicating mixtures has been revived in those districts chiefly which are visited by foreign ships. Mr Ellis maintains that but for the introduction of such traders the Otaheitans would have been at this day among the most temperate people on the face of the earth. Their own laws were strong enough to prevent the manufacture of spiritous liquors at home; and when the culture of sugar was introduced by the Missionary Society, it was made an express stipulation that rum should not be distilled. But the chiefs have wanted either the power or the firmness to prevent the importation of it from abroad. In all lands, drunkenness is a vice so difficult to relinquish, that, even among the highest ranks of social life,

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where connexions, character, health, and all the other considerations which affect the interests of man are known to exercise the greatest influence, the victim of intemperance is seldom seen to achieve his emancipation from its ignominious thraldom. It will not therefore surprise any one to learn that in this respect reformation has not been complete. Pomare, the first royal convert, it has been already noticed, fell a sacrifice to that debasing habit, which, notwithstanding his full conviction of its evils, he could never entirely overcome: and at one period, so dreadful were its ravages that, but for the check interposed by our sanctifying religion, the whole race would probably have been exterminated.*

The triumph of the gospel has been more conspicuous in regard to that leading virtue which is the pledge and safeguard of domestic comfort, the foundation of all regular society, and the source of all the endearing relationships of life. No one can read the descriptions of the early voyagers without a mixture of compassion and disgust at the licentious scenes introduced into their narratives; and, though the writers in general may not have been disposed to darken beyond necessity the shades of the picture, some of them were constrained to declare that the "excesses were incredible." To the first missionaries, accordingly, no bar appeared so insuperable as the loose notions which every where prevailed in regard to the requisitions of the seventh commandment. The effect was the same on the minds of the early converts themselves, and clouded their anticipations as to the success of the new religion. "You may," said one of the more intelligent among them, "induce the people to discontinue murdering their infants, offering human sacrifices, and practising demon-worship. You may induce them to burn their idols, embrace your faith, attend your prayers, learn your books, and possibly even refrain from drunkenness and theft; but the preservation of female virtue, union in marriage according to christian

* Vindication of the South Sea Missions, p. 88.

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precepts, and conjugal fidelity, will never be obtained." On this important point, however, where reformation was the most hopeless, success has been the most complete. No sooner was the authority of the Redeemer recognised, even through the somewhat obscure medium in which his character and offices were conveyed, than the more offensive of the abominations disappeared; the virtue of chastity was inculcated and maintained; christian marriage was instituted, and the inviolable obligations of the bond piously acknowledged. This change, it is added, has been, under the Divine blessing, effected entirely by the exertions of christian missionaries, not only without any external assistance, but in the face of the determined opposition of many from whom they might have expected both countenance and aid.

Nor have the teachers confined their benevolent views to spiritual benefits and mental improvement; they have also introduced many useful arts, and instructed the natives how to profit by the rich gifts which Providence has bestowed upon them, in a fertile glebe and most genial climate. Besides the culture of the sugar-cane already mentioned, they have taught the best methods of producing crops of tobacco, coffee, cotton, and other valuable commodities, to which the soil not less than the temperature of the atmosphere is remarkably favourable. They have, moreover, made them acquainted with most of the mechanical arts. In Otaheite more especially are found persons who can prosecute with considerable success the trades of carpenter, mason, smith, turner, cotton-spinner, and weaver. It is readily admitted, at the same time, that industry and the love of labour are not a spontaneous fruit among the islanders of the South Sea. Turnbull, who knew their characters well, remarked long ago that, if their land is fertile and their sky serene, their physical temperament is so indolent as to render these natural advantages totally unproductive. The missionaries, he remarks, possess a public garden, very well stocked and cultivated, and the greater part of them a private one not much inferior. It seems natural to

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imagine that its beauty and utility would have acted as a stimulus to the natives to imitate their exertions; "the indolence of the Otaheitans is beyond the cure of any common remedy."*

But it is admitted, even by those least friendly to the missionaries, that the spirit of religion, combined with a desire to improve their secular affairs, has roused many of them from their constitutional torpor. Kotzebue narrates, that when his frigate entered the bay of Matavai, numerous boats, laden with all kinds of fruits, provisions, and other articles of merchandise, put off from the shore. With their wares on their backs, the natives climbed merrily up the sides of the ship, and the deck was soon transformed into a busy market, where all was fun and frolic. Alluding to their houses, he relates, that among the thickets of fruit-trees were seen the dwellings of the happy inhabitants of this great pleasure-ground, built of bamboos and covered with large leaves, standing each in its little garden; "but to our great astonishment, the stillness of death reigned among them; and even when the sun stood high in the heavens, no one was to be seen. At length we obtained, from the boat sent off to us at break of day with provisions, an explanation of this enigma. The inhabitants of Otaheite were celebrating the Sunday, on which account they did not leave their houses. The loud prayer reached my ears as I approached their dwellings; all the doors were closed, and not even the children allowed to enjoy the beauty of the morning." On this occasion the author notices two facts which illustrate very favourably the beneficial effects of missionary labour; namely, that though above a hundred of the inhabitants were on board his ship, nothing was stolen, and that on the first day he saw no females. He adds, "when we were afterwards occa-

* Turnbull's Voyage, vol. iii. p. 18. Captain Beechey observes (Narrative, vol. i. p. 213), "that the indolence of these people has ever been notorious, and has been a greater bar to the success of the missionaries than their previous faith."

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sionally visited by the women, they always behaved with the greatest propriety."

Mr Hoffman, who was naturalist to the expedition, observed among the natives an instance of similar respect for the Lord's-day. Having undertaken a journey into the interior of Otaheite, to visit the wonderful lake of Wahiria, he procured an escort consisting of such individuals as were acquainted with the route. "The following day being Sunday, Tauru, immediately on rising, repeated a long prayer, and then read a chapter of the New Testament, of which at least one copy was to be found in every hut." After a good breakfast, the philosopher wished to proceed, but his guides were not to be moved, and threats and entreaties were equally unavailing. They assured him that a continuation of the journey would be a profanation of the Sabbath, a crime for which they would be punished, should it come to the knowledge of the missionaries. The next morning they made no objection to setting out.*

Such facts prove that the gospel has not been preached to the Georgian islanders altogether in vain. In some cases, no doubt, there may be found among them, as elsewhere, the form of godliness without the power; and their zealous king was not the only native of Otaheite whose conscience permitted him to combine the worship of Jehovah with a relaxed code of morals. But such discrepancies, it will be admitted, occur in all christian communities; and in justice to the new converts of the Pacific, we must not insist upon applying to their conduct a higher standard than to other nations at a similar period of advancement. The religion of Christ in these days operates not by a miraculous agency, but by an appeal to the reason and the heart; hence the point which every candid inquirer will endeavour to determine, with a due reference to the previous character of a recently converted people, is, whether Christianity has really accomplished that degree of improvement which

* Kotzebue's Voyage round the World, vol. i. p. 212.

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experience in similar cases would have led him to expect. On this equitable ground, the patrons of missions are willing to have their pretensions decided and their labours measured, more especially as they respect the change effected by their means throughout the insular habitations of the great South Sea.*

There is no fanaticism, it is believed, in the persuasion, that to Britain has been intrusted by Divine Providence a greater extent of power than ever belonged to any nation, whether in ancient or modern times, with the view that she may carry to the remotest parts of the earth the pure form of Christianity which she professes, and the equal laws whereby the happiness of her people is secured. It has been well said, that she is not more eminent for her prowess in arms, her success in commerce, and her rank in science, and in all the arts which minister to the embellishment of social life, than she is for her exertions in diffusing the light of knowledge and of heavenly truth over the world. Animated by motives of the purest nature, thousands have been found ready to unite their counsels and contribute their property to send to others the invaluable gift which they themselves have received from above. Under the influence of such desires, and encouraged by such protection, devout men have gone forth on the embassy of mercy to some of the most savage nations of the globe. At a distance from friends and country, exposed to the rage or caprice of the barbarians whom they wished to save, they have endured privations and encountered dangers which the attainment of no merely human object would have supplied courage to sustain. They have named the name of the Redeemer where it was never heard before: they have added new regions to the geography of Christianity; they have increased the number of its triumphs, and brightened the splendour of its victories.

Nor has their enterprise been unproductive of good, or unattended with cheering hopes. Over regions of

* Vindication of the South Sea Missions, p. 69.

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gross darkness, guilt, and despair, they have spread light, purity, and hope. Bloodshed and anarchy have given way to peace and order. Men who lived but to suffer, and died but to perish, have been saved from wretchedness and been made partakers of an immortal inheritance. The howl of superstitious fear has been succeeded by the language of prayer, and the shouts of ferocious war by the song of christian praise.* Civilisation, too, is advancing with rapid steps in connexion with a purer faith. The hut of the Otaheitan is replaced by a comfortable house, supplied with the conveniences and even the elegances of Europe; his canoe has been exchanged for ships of considerable burden; and his rude barter, or more lawless plunder, has been superseded by the intercourse of regular commerce. By their exertions, moreover, new fields of discovery have been opened to the philosopher. The missionaries have penetrated into regions where the foot of other travellers has never trodden, and have explored many regions which neither the love of gold nor the desire of knowlege could induce the boldest to enter. They have presented man under aspects the most interesting in which he can ever be contemplated; adding new facts to illustrate his natural history, and to trace the lines of his migration from the parent settlement where he received the first rudiments of knowledge. To the treasures of philology they have brought an accession of new tongues, and exhibited in written forms alphabets and languages unknown amongst European scholars. Apart therefore from Christianity,

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* "On his startled ear
What unaccustomed sounds come from those shores,
Charming the lone Pacific ?—Not the shouts
Of war, nor maddening songs of Bacchanals;
But from the rude Marae, the full-toned psalm
Of christian praise.—A moral miracle!
Tahiti now enjoys the gladdening smile
Of Sabbaths. Savage dialects unheard
At Babel, or at Jewish Pentecost,
Now first articulate divinest sounds
And swell the universal Amen."

Conder's "Star in the East."

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and without any respect to the spiritual welfare of a large portion of the human race, it may be asserted, that the labours of those zealous men must prove at once extremely interesting and important to the philosopher, the scholar, and the politician.*

The object is unquestionably important, and no means,

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* See Orme's Defence of the Missions in the South Sea and Sandwich Islands against the Misrepresentations contained in a late number of the Quarterly Review, in a Letter addressed to the Editor of that Journal (8vo, Lond. 1827), p. 75.

On this subject we are induced to quote a passage from the Works of the Reverend Robert Montgomery, the author of several popular poems, full of the fire and pathos of true genius:

"Go forth and teach!—and ye have gone, and done
Deeds that will shine, when thou art dark, O Sun;
Heroes! whose crowns with gems of glory shine,
Dug from the depths of heaven's eternal mine;
O what a conquest hath the cross obtain'd!
There, where of old a hell of darkness reign'd,
And crime and havoc, fiend-begotten pair,
In mortal bosoms made their savage lair,
And issued thence, to riot, rage, or kill,
Like incarnations of a demon's will,—
The peace that passeth understanding grows,
And earth seems born again without her woes;
So wondrously the spell divine descends,
And man with nature in communion blends.
The isles have seen HIM! and the deserts raise
Anthems that thrill the halls of heaven with praise:
Crouching and tame the tiger passions lie,
Hush'd by the gaze of an Almighty eye;
Temples and homes of sacred truth abound,
Where Satan once with all his crew was found;
And, hark! at sunset while the shady calm
Of forest coolness floats on wings of balm,
As roams the pilgrim in that dying glare,
From a lone hamlet winds the voice of prayer,—
Breath of the soul by Jesus taught to prize
And blend with music heard beyond the skies!—
Ecstatic thought! the zenith of our dreams,
Error has died in truth's victorious beams:
And where the savage round his altar fed
On the warm fragments of the limbless dead,
Cots which an English heart delights to hail
Deck the green wilds of many a foreign dale,
And turn'd by Piety's familiar hand,
Religion sees her tear-worn bibles stand."

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separated from religion, seem adequate to the accomplishment of it. Simple instruction in letters and the arts will not suffice. The mind must be roused and alarmed by revelations which respect the eternal state of man; the savage must be made to feel that the eye of heaven is upon him; and that there is a powerful hand ever stretched out to punish or to protect. To effect these ends, the learned and refined are not the best qualified, for there is a delicacy of feeling induced by literary habits, which shrinks from the familiar descriptions and bold remonstrances indispensable to the success of the missionary. An illiterate artisan, if animated with zeal, and not ignorant of the first truths of his religion, is, for breaking up the ground of pagan superstition, an instrument better suited than the brightest ornament of a university, or the most eloquent expounder of doctrine in the city pulpit. Such men as went forth in the Duff act as pioneers: they prepare the way for the advance of a more regular force; they cut out a path in the wild thicket or morass, by which their successors may proceed to complete the work begun with so much labour; they sow the seed, with an unskilful hand perhaps, and on ground little cultivated, but whence, at no distant day, a crop will spring to enrich and beautify the whole land. The missionary in due time is followed by the churchman, who systematizes the elements which the other has created. Like a wise master-builder, the latter polishes the materials, already in some degree prepared to his hand, and erects with them an orderly edifice, complete in all its parts, and having for its foundation the lively stones of an apostolical priesthood, qualified to offer the oblation of a spiritual sacrifice.

We must look to the next generation for the full effects of the exertions made in the present. The warmest advocates of South Sea missions are most ready to acknowledge that the work is still imperfect; that much evil is yet to be corrected, and all that is good still needs improvement. But it must not thence be denied, that a great benefit has been conferred, in which the Christian

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and philanthropist may rejoice. The leaven of the gospel, indeed, has not hitherto leavened the whole population, so that many are still found who profess not to believe in it, and amongst those who do, numbers are Christians only in name, and by their conduct frequently dishonour their calling. Who that is at all acquainted with the progress of our holy faith in past ages, could expect it to be otherwise? The directors of missions are not such enthusiasts as to look for miracles. "We treat those to whom we send the gospel, as God has treated mankind at large. It is carried to them, and proposed to their understandings, as accountable creatures, accompanied with the declaration sanctioned by divine authority—he that believeth shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be condemned. The gospel is not only preached, but it is translated into their own language, and they themselves are taught to read it. As in every preceding instance, some have believed, and some have believed not. Those who have received it in truth, have evinced their sincerity by renouncing dumb idols, and turning to the living God. As to the extent to which this is done, it has been such as appears to afford, in a signal degree, a proof of the divine approbation of the means employed, as well as of the intentions of those by whom they have been supplied. It has been such as to give joy to the pious labourer, notwithstanding the objections which have been brought and the calumnies which have been uttered against him."*

Having presented a general view of the condition in which the natives of Polynesia were found, when first visited by Europeans, and described the means which have been employed for their improvement, in the arts of life as well as in the knowledge of their duty to Heaven and to one another, we now proceed to give a brief history of each separate group, as they have successively fallen under the notice of our countrymen, and employed their cares. In performing this part of our

* Vindication of the South Sea Missions, p. 412.

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task, we shall not follow a strictly chronological order; considering it more suitable to the end we wish to accomplish, to note the course of events according to the comparative importance of the several islands in which our missionaries have formed establishments for propagating the gospel. The statistics and commercial capabilities of the people on both sides of the equator will afterwards pass under review, more particularly with relation to the interests of Great Britain, to whose exertions chiefly they owe their political existence.

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CHAPTER IV.

The Georgian and Society Islands.

Discovery of Georgian and Society Islands—Quiros, Wallis, Bougainville, Cook—Natives had not improved—Missionaries land from the Duff—Pomare II. King—Peter the Swede acts as Interpreter—Teachers well received—Mechanical Trades introduced—Idolatry checked—Misunderstanding with the King about the Nautilus—Attack on Missionaries, some of whom depart—War in Otaheite—Death of Mr Lewis—Second Voyage of the Duff—Is captured by a French Privateer—Additional Teachers arrive—Another War—Death of Pomare I.—His Character—His Son at first less favourable to the Cause—Missionaries again alarmed—Revival of Affairs—The King converted—His Baptism deferred—Progress of the Gospel—Opposition of the Heathen—Clemency of the Royalists—Christianity extended to neighbouring Islands—Additional Teachers sent out—Printing begun—Great Desire for Books—Ship built by Missionaries—Natives form a Society for propagating the Gospel—Objection to their Mode of Contribution—Advantages gained—Church erected in Otaheite—Laws enacted—Pomare baptized—Communion administered in Raiatea—Demise of the King—Coronation of Pomare III.—His Death, and Accession of his Sister Aimata—Difficulties arise—Arrival of Pitcairn Islanders—Services of Captain Sandilands—War in Raiatea—Evils of such Commotions.

THE Society and Georgian Islands were first made known to civilized nations by a Spanish seaman. In 1605, Pedro Fernandez de Quiros sailed from the port of Callao, with instructions from the government of Madrid to prosecute discovery in the Pacific Ocean, and more especially to direct his researches towards that unknown continent

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which had so long roused the curiosity of the speculative, and the avarice of all others. On the 10th February the following year, he descried an island, which presenting itself to him in the form of a curved line, he gave to it the name of Sagitaria, or the Bow. From its position, though not quite accurately ascertained, as well as with reference to the circumstance of its being divided by a narrow isthmus, geographers have agreed that the Spaniard must have discovered Otaheite. The natives were found in a state of the utmost simplicity; entirely unencumbered with clothes, and armed with wooden lances burnt at the point, or with great clubs. An altar formed of rude stones was observed by the strangers, who, assuming that it must have been devoted to the prince of darkness, elevated on it a rude cross, an emblem of that better faith which, at that moment, they had neither leisure nor means to establish.*

Fully a century and a half had passed away before that beautiful island was again visited by a European, in the person of Captain Wallis, who, while prosecuting a voyage of discovery, reached its shores about the middle of June, in the year 1767. In the intercourse which took place with the inhabitants, the usual scenes occurred. On the one side was an unbounded curiosity, accompanied with an irrepressible propensity to theft, and, on the other, a becoming vigilance lest danger should be sustained by the ship or men from a sudden attack on the part of the savages. It is true that musketry and great guns possessed an incalculable advantage over stones and wooden missiles; but the superiority of numbers was so immense on the side of the assailants that no precaution could be deemed unjustifiable. After a brisk war, in which the simple people sustained a severe

* Edinburgh Cabinet Library, No. XXI. p. 90. In the volume now cited, entitled "An Historical Account of the Circumnavigation of the Globe," the reader is supplied with ample details illustrating the progress of maritime discovery in those parts of the world. Hence we purposely confine ourselves to such an outline as may recall the recollection of the principal facts and dates.

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loss in life and property, peace was established on a firm basis; an active barter was carried on between them and the sailors; and at length, after a stay of nearly six weeks, they retired, leaving a variety of animals and mechanical instruments, highly useful to their hosts.

In the spring of next year, Bougainville, the celebrated discoverer, spent eight days at Otaheite. He was delighted with the beauty of its hills and valleys, as well as with the mild behaviour of the natives. The verdure of its swelling acclivities, the cool shades afforded by its groves, and the pleasant associations connected with its grassy plains and murmuring rivulets, fascinated the imagination of the French commander, who exhausts all the power of language in attempting to express his emotions. Fifteen months after his departure, Captain Cook arrived, having on board several scientific gentlemen, who had been selected to observe the transit of Venus across the solar disc. In the course of this voyage, he discovered Tethuroa, Huaheine, Raiatea, Otaha, Bolabola, Maurua, and Rurutoo. On two subsequent occasions, he visited Otaheite and some other of the Society Islands; from one of which Omai, the young savage, whose history has touched so many hearts, and awakened the sweetest notes of poetry, was conveyed to England.

Ever since that great navigator visited these islands, a deep interest has been felt in the welfare of the inhabitants, whose gentle manners seem to compensate for their questionable morality, and whose docile tempers promised an ample reward for whatever pains might be bestowed upon their instruction. It was manifest that, if their knowledge of European power and science were not to be extended beyond the casual acquaintance supplied by the residence of voyagers, they had sustained an injury by their intercourse with our seamen and philosophers. Having proved the superior advantages of iron tools, they were disposed to neglect their own less perfect instruments. The stock they received could neither be replenished nor repaired; and, despising their bone-knives and stone-axes, they could not fail to consider

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themselves in a more destitute state than before they had learned, from comparison, the extent of their wants. As their vales and mountains were found to produce little which could excite the cupidity of the trader, or gratify the ambition of the statesman, they were about to be abandoned to their primitive seclusion, when a spirit of philanthropy arose in England, which resolved that some effort should be made to improve their condition, to raise them in the scale of intellectual existence, and to rescue them from the bondage of a degrading idolatry.

Between the years 1779, when the great discoverer lost his life, and the spring of 1797, when the Duff reached the shores of Otaheite, several ships, public as well as private, visited the South Sea Islands. The names of Dixon, Portlock, Edwards, Vancouver, La Perouse, and Marchand, will occur to every reader, as those of distinguished commanders who had occasion to enter the ports of Otaheite, Eimeo, and Raiatea; but he will not find in their pages any proof that the acquaintance with European manners, previously communicated to the natives, had been productive of the slightest advantage in regard to their temporal comfort, the enlargement of their thoughts, or the purification of their religious feelings. In 1792, the Dædalus store-ship had followed Vancouver to Nootka Sound, and was thence despatched, under the direction of Lieutenant Hanson, to Port Jackson, in New South Wales. In her way thither she stopped a fortnight at Otaheite, where the crew were treated with the utmost friendship. Two of them deserted, one of whom was recovered by the contrivance of a chief, who advised the commanding-officer to detain himself until the man should be sent back by the people of the island. The other runaway was a Swede, named Peter, who, being allowed to remain, afterwards rendered himself notorious by the part which he acted against the missionaries.

No change for the better was observed among the natives. While in some respects the humanity and prudence of our navigators are worthy of all praise, it

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has been lamented, that, in various points of view, they appear to have derived from the profession of Christianity no superiority whatever to the heathen among whom they sojourned. The morals of the inhabitants had become more depraved from their intercourse with them during the ten preceding years; various diseases, either unknown to the island, or recognised only in a modified form, had carried deformity and death among every class of society; and these evils were not diminished by any improvement in the conduct of their chiefs, whose intemperance, while it was encouraged by a larger supply of intoxicating liquors, received no check from the example of their civilized visiters. It may therefore be believed, that there is little exaggeration in the details given by the first christian teachers, who, in depicting the depravity of the Otaheitans, exhaust all the terms of reproach which St Paul employed when denouncing the crimes of the Greeks and Romans.

In March 1797, a body of missionaries landed from the Duff, having previously performed divine service on board in the presence of about forty of the natives. During sermon and prayer they appeared quite thoughtful; but when the singing struck up they seemed charmed and filled with amazement. "Sometimes they talked and laughed, but a nod of the head brought them to order." Two Europeans presented themselves, from whom some important intelligence was obtained respecting the principal persons on the island, as well as in regard to the political changes which had recently taken place. Both the individuals now mentioned were Swedes, namely, Peter Haggerstein, already noticed, and Andrew Lind, who was a native of Stockholm. They informed the strangers that Otoo, recently king, having transferred his power and title to his son, had assumed the appellation of Pomare; and that in a contest, about twenty months before, with the chief of the southern part of the island, he had triumphed so completely as to establish his dominion over the whole. It was also stated, that the sovereign of Eimeo being dead, he further laid

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claim to the government, and, after several battles, had made good his pretensions by force of arms.

Captain Wilson took an early opportunity of informing the young king, through Peter who acted as interpreter, that the only inducement for leaving Britain to pay him this visit, was to do his subjects good by instructing them in the best and most useful things, and that for an end so important, some pious men intended to settle among them. On their part, he requested the gift of a piece of land sufficiently stocked with bread-fruit and cocoa-nut trees, and so large as to contain a garden, and admit of houses being built upon it. He stated, that they would not, on any account, intermeddle in wars, nor employ their arms but for self-defence; and, if permitted to live unmolested on such terms, they would remain on the island, if not, they would forthwith take their departure to another station. His majesty, whose comprehension seemed not fully to embrace the terms in which these proposals were expressed, assured them that they should have a house on shore, and as much ground as their necessities or even their pleasures might require.*

After the Duff left the island, the missionaries devoted themselves in earnest to their appointed work; arranging their plans for constant and persevering labour. In their first endeavours, they were encouraged by the king and queen, and even by the high-priest Hamanemane, who generously supplied their wants, so far as the productions of their country could afford the means. The daily occupations of the teachers, those of them especially who followed some mechanical trade, kept the curiosity of the natives in a high state of excitement. The erection of a sawpit, and the cutting of a tree into a number of boards, filled them with delight. But when the forge was erected, and the anvil first employed, their gratification was only equalled by their wonder.

* Missionary Voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean in the Ship Duff, p. 63.

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The whole process of working iron, the flying of the sparks, the hissing when plunged into water, created astonishment in their simple minds. Nor were they less pleased than surprised at the facility with which a bar of iron was converted into adzes, hatchets, spears, and fishing-hooks.

It is related that Pomare went into the shop one day when the smith was at work, and after gazing with ecstasy for some time, was so overcome with wonder and delight, that he caught up the artisan in his arms, and disregarding the soiled state of his person and clothes, most cordially embraced him, even to the extent of rubbing noses. But the missionaries did not devote all their time to such pursuits, however beneficial. While the labours of the sawyer, the carpenter, and smith, were gradually raising them in the estimation of the people, they failed not to consecrate several hours every day to the acquisition of the native languages. At stated times they met together for the purpose of comparing the knowledge they had collected from their professional communications with the inhabitants, and of assisting one another in their arduous undertaking. The importance of their object encouraged them to persevere, and the difficulties became less formidable as they advanced, though for many years these were so great as to require the most sedulous application. One of them, who at length succeeded in making considerable acquirements in the various tongues of the Pacific, has frequently acknowledged that he was ten years in Otaheite before he understood the precise meaning of some of the words, even of the most frequent occurrence.*

While their familiar intercourse with the people augmented their knowledge of vocables, it added likewise to the perception of the formidable obstacles which they had to encounter in their attempt to reform their manners or improve their religious sentiments.†

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* Missionary Records (12mo, London), p. 97.

† It may be proper to mention, that the missionaries, upon

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A few days after Captain Wilson set sail, Pomare sent for the high-priest to offer a human sacrifice at a great convocation of the chiefs. Hamanemane pretended some reluctance, but said, he feared the anger of the king if he should refuse obedience, and requested that some of the missionaries should accompany him; suggesting that his majesty would not insist upon it in the presence of those to whom he had solemnly promised to abolish the custom. As this was considered a favourable opportunity for bearing their testimony in the name of the true God against the frequent murders which were perpetrated in the name of religion, two of the Englishmen consented to go with the priest. On their journey they spent a Sunday in the district of Atahuru, where one of them read an address in the native language, which, he remarks, the audience seemed to understand, but did not show any desire to be instructed in the gospel. In reference to what he observed when amongst them, he says, "the more I see of the temper, customs, and conduct of this people, the more I am confirmed in the opinion that I have some time formed, that our success will not be speedy. The Lord, however, can remove all obstacles, but we are not to expect it out of the ordinary way."*

On this occasion the brethren appear to have succeeded in preventing a sacrifice being offered to the demon of superstition. Towards the close of the year, however, the high-priest gave them notice that Pomare had killed

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approaching the scene of their future labours, divided themselves into three portions, to serve respectively in the Society Islands, the Friendly, and the Marquesas. Those destined for Otaheite were the following:—

Rev. J. F. Cover.	Mr S. Clode.	Mr F. Oakes.
John Eyre.	J. A. Gillham.	J. Puckey.
John Jefferson.	Wm. Henry.	Wm. Puckey.
Thomas Lewis.	P. Hodges.	Wm. Smith.
Mr H. Bicknell.	R. Hassall.	To these were added five women and two children, making in all 25 individuals.
B. Bromhall.	E. Main.	
J. Cock.	H. Nott.	

* Missionary Records, p. 99.

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a man contrary to his promise, but that as he had refused to offer the victim to his god, the corpse was decently interred instead of being cut in pieces, after the usual fashion. The reason of this atrocious barbarity was a dream in the night, when, it was said, the divinity presenting himself to the king, commanded him to immolate a human being on the pain of his greatest displeasure. Resolved to obey this supernatural injunction, his majesty seized the first person he saw in the morning suitable for his purpose, and without hesitation deprived him of life.

In the beginning of 1798, intelligence reached the missionaries that a general assembly of the natives was about to be held in the contiguous district of Pare. Considering it a fit opportunity for laying before the chiefs certain matters of great importance to the object of their enterprise, as christian ministers among the heathen, they despatched six of their number to the meeting, with authority to urge upon the leaders the necessity of paying attention to the sacred instruction now communicated to their people, and to point out to them the benefit that would result to the community from a knowledge of the mechanical arts. They were farther desired to inform them, that in all countries where the word of God is known, the worship of idols, as well as the offering of human sacrifices, are altogether abolished, and that murder, with other crimes equally heinous, are punished with death. It was also suggested that they should entreat the chiefs to use their utmost endeavour to put a stop to the horrible practice of infanticide, which, while it offended Jehovah, tended to the final extirpation of their race; assuring them that the missionaries would fulfil the promises formerly made, to build a house for the reception of all the children who should be saved from destruction, and confer upon them the blessings of a European education.

On the 10th of January, the deputies proceeded on their errand of mercy; but soon found that the riotous festivity of the scene was quite incompatible with the

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discharge of any religious duty or pious remonstrance. They were afterwards more successful at a meeting held in the vicinity of Matavai, where, through the medium of Peter the Swede, they made known their wishes to the chief counsellors, who promised that no more infants should be destroyed. But such concessions were too frequently made with no other view than to deceive the christian teachers or to abate their importunity, and were remembered no longer than suited the convenience of the rulers. A similar remark may be applied to the facility with which they granted land and other property. When, for example, the application already noticed was addressed to Pomare and his son for a piece of ground, the wishes of the strangers were met to the fullest extent. The whole district of Matavai was ceded to them, though all that they ever desired was the secure occupation of the land on which their houses and gardens were situated. But, in point of fact, the territory was never held as belonging to the mission; it was claimed and even possessed by the original owners; and no portion was yielded to the visiters except the sandy spot on which their buildings were erected.*

After spending ten months in Otaheite, the missionaries could say, "thus are we brought to the conclusion of another year, the principal part of which was spent among rude and barbarous heathen; and notwithstanding the fears which are inseparable from our situation, and the dangers that surround us, hitherto our God has not suffered any one to do us any real hurt." But an event was now at hand which put their faith and steadfastness to a more severe trial than they had yet endured. On the 6th March, the anniversary of the day on which the Duff had arrived at Matavai, a ship was announced to be approaching the shore. On reaching the mouth of the harbour her progress was stopped, when it was

* See Ellis, vol. ii. p. 8. The house which Pomare bestowed upon the missionaries was the large one called by the natives the Fare Beritane (British House), which they had built for Captain Bligh.

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learned by some of the English who went on board, that it was the Nautilus of Macao, commanded by Mr Bishop. Originally destined to engage in the fur-trade on the north-western coast of America, she had been compelled by stress of weather to relinquish the object of her voyage, and proceed to Masafuera. In pursuance of this intention, the captain touched at the Sandwich Islands, whence he carried away two Englishmen and seven natives, whom he proposed to land at the port just mentioned; and on his way thither he designed to visit the Marquesas, either for supplies or with the view of commerce. He was again defeated by the prevalence of currents or contrary gales, which made it necessary for him to direct his course towards Otaheite, where he arrived in great want of provisions as well as of other necessaries.

In return for the food, of which his crew as well as passengers stood in need, Mr Bishop had nothing to offer except muskets and ammunition, commodities on which the natives set a high value, but which the missionaries determined they should not obtain in their present circumstances. The brethren, therefore, resolved to supply the Nautilus to the utmost extent of their own means rather than permit a traffic that could not fail to encourage the love of war, which still glowed very powerfully in the breasts of the inhabitants. This measure, however prudent, considered with reference to the untamed population of the island, appears to have given great offence to some of those in whose hands the safety of the foreigners continued to rest. The first indication of this change of feeling is contained in an entry of the journal kept at the mission-house: "Pomare, Idia, and Otoo are at Opare; they neither visit us nor the ship, nor send any food to the vessel." It happened at the same crisis that five of the natives who had been induced to leave the Sandwich Isles deserted from the Nautilus and took shelter in the house of the king, which, being held sacred, could not be approached with any appearance of violence or constraint. The monarch, too, on his part,

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finding that Captain Bishop required an additional quantity of provisions, issued an order which had the effect of disappointing him, and, at the same time, of frustrating the benevolent intention of the preachers.

The irritation which dictated such an unusual stretch of power was still farther increased by the flight of two other sailors from the same ship, who also abstracted a boat belonging to her. The commander, in a letter to their friends ashore, expressed his firm determination to recover the men, in defiance of every hazard which might present itself. The missionaries, sympathizing with them in their difficulties, and desirous to prevent the mischiefs which might arise from the residence of so many dissolute persons in the island, deputed four of their number to the king, begging that he would send the deserters on board. The result of this visit was most unfortunate, and produced an effect on the christian establishment which greatly altered its aspect and operations, until, for a time, it was entirely suspended. When they reached the residence of Otoo, they perceived that the Sandwich islanders were among his attendants, a circumstance which increased their suspicion that he likewise favoured the concealment of the seamen. After waiting some time in expectation that Pomare himself would appear at the house of his son, they proceeded in search of the elder sovereign; but they had scarcely walked a mile, when, on approaching the margin of a river, they were suddenly seized by a number of natives, who stripped them, dragged two of them through the stream, attempted to drown them, and even threatened them with a more instant murder. Upon recovering from this unexpected struggle, they found themselves in a most pitiable condition, being deprived of their clothing, and severely bruised. When the king was questioned by his father in regard to this assault, he made a brief reply in his own defence; yet there is reason to believe that though he may not have actually commanded the outrage, he was at least privy to the intention of inflicting it.

There was no difficulty in sounding the motives of

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the young monarch. He had resolved to make a conquest of the whole island, and, at the same moment, to deprive his parent and brothers of all share in the public authority. To accomplish this object muskets and gunpowder were of the greatest consequence to him, as also the aid of the Europeans who had taken shelter at his court. By furnishing supplies to the Nautilus the missionaries had prevented his agents from obtaining the very arms and ammunition by means of which he had hoped to extend his sovereignty; and now they appeared in his presence to demand the individuals on whose skill, as warriors, he placed his chief reliance. It was therefore in vain for Pomare to insist that the refugees should be delivered up to the captain; they themselves expressed a fixed resolution to remain, and one of them declared, that " if they take me on board again, they shall take me dead."

As the violence to which the four missionaries had been exposed was accompanied with menaces against their whole body, it is not surprising that their courage should have been somewhat shaken. Indeed, the impression produced upon the society at Matavai was such that eleven of them, including four who were married, considered a removal from the island a part of their duty; and as the captain, on whose account they had incurred the danger, offered a passage to such of them as were desirous to migrate to Port Jackson, they made preparations for their departure.

Intelligence that the teachers were about to withdraw soon reached the ears of the people, among whom, generally, it produced a feeling of deep regret. Pomare, who was much distressed, used every effort to persuade them to stay, promising whatever might conduce to their convenience, and assuring them of protection. His sorrow was greatly alleviated when he found that six of their number, one of whom had a wife, intended to remain. Nor did he conceal from these resolute men that their fears were not altogether without foundation: on the contrary, he confessed that he had been frequently urged

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by the unprincipled foreigners who lived on the island, including Peter their interpreter, to murder the whole body and seize their property.*

In a letter addressed to the Missionary Society, after the departure of their brethren to New Holland, they write as follows :—" Experience has taught us, the more we are encumbered about worldly things, the less concern we have for the conversion of the heathen ; and the more we are detached from secular employments, the more, we trust, our minds will be attached to the propagation of the gospel. Otaheite affords food and raiment suitable to the climate, and sufficient to answer the great end of Providence in granting us these blessings ; and, having these things, we hope the Lord will teach us to be content. We deem it needful to inform the directors, that it appears to us, at present, a reinforcement of this island with a body of missionaries, consisting of men, women, and children, and furnished after the manner of ourselves when we quitted our native country in the ship Duff, would nothing forward the work of God on Otaheite or the adjacent islands ; but if four or six christian men, void of worldly encumbrances, will be willing to hazard their lives for the sake of the Lord Jesus Christ, in the conversion of the heathen, and led by the Eternal Spirit, forsake all and follow us, we shall glory, if spared to give them the right hand of fellowship."

Though reduced in number, and not a little discouraged by the indifference of the people among whom they laboured, the six individuals, Bicknell, Harris, Lewis, Eyre, Jefferson, and Nott, who signed this communication to the Society in London, continued to instruct such of the natives as would listen to them, and prepare themselves for future exertions. Exposed to constant depredations, and even menaced with death, they persevered in the study of the Otaheitan language, reducing it to a regular orthography, and unfolding the principles of its

* Missionary Records, p. 115.

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construction. Pomare, though he valued their mechanical skill much more highly than their religion or grammatical researches, considered it his duty to protect them from open violence, and to punish the thieves by whom their property was invaded. He made some compensation to them for the injuries they had sustained in the late assault, and even ravaged part of the district where the offenders dwelt, fifteen of whom were deprived of life by his command. But, nevertheless, they could not shut their eyes to the fact, that though the chief, with the view of promoting certain temporal objects, favoured their pretensions, the inhabitants in general treated them with less respect, and showed an increasing disinclination to listen to their admonitions. Every day exhibited new and appalling proofs of the deplorable immorality which prevailed on all sides; darkening the prospect, at no time bright, of planting the gospel among tribes in whose eyes the interests of eternity possessed no value. At the same moment, reports were circulated which greatly increased the apprehension of the missionaries. It was rumoured that the principal men were in a short time to proceed to the neighbouring island of Eimeo, and that, prior to their expedition, they meant to burn the house in which the teachers resided.

Towards the close of 1798, these devoted persons were farther alarmed by the renewal of war in the district of Matavai. The whole country was devastated with unrelenting fury; and the natives, abandoning their little property to the lawless plunderers by whom they were invaded, sought safety by fleeing to the mountains. The Swede, aided by one of the sailors who had deserted from the Nautilus, had an active share in this evil work, having lent themselves to the vindictive feelings of Otoo, who seemed to entertain a grudge against his father, whose influence, though he had descended from the throne, was still considerable. In the midst of these commotions, Hamanemane, the high-priest, was murdered, with the connivance if not by the positive order of the king. It is true, he punished with death the per-

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petrators of the crime, a proceeding which could not be easily reconciled with the supposition that he had authorized the commission of it: but say the missionaries, "we have seen so much of him since, that we believe he is capable of committing any wickedness which the devil, his own carnal mind, and his blood-thirsty followers may excite him to."*

This event was soon followed by the death of Mr Lewis, one of their own body, who is supposed to have been murdered, and by the departure of Mr Harris for New South Wales, who, availing himself of the opportunity afforded by the arrival of an English ship, proceeded to that colony. By means of another vessel, which, about the same period, left Port Jackson, letters were received from a clergyman stationed at that town, accompanied by one addressed by Governor King to Pomare, whose warlike schemes tended not a little to disturb his son's dominions, and to frustrate the benevolent designs of the English residents. "I cannot too much recommend to your majesty's kind protection the society of missionaries whom you have taken under your care, which cannot fail of exciting their gratitude and King George's friendship, which I shall always be happy in

* Missionary Records, p. 127. At this period the king was exceedingly unfriendly to the missionaries. In one of their letters they narrate, "Otoo also absented himself from our habitation to-day, but has given us another specimen of his despotism and ingratitude, by plundering us of several hogs and other articles." They add, "our knowledge in the language of Tahiti is growing, and we look forward with a pleasing hope to a period when we shall speak it fluently." It is proper to mention that, according to Mr Ellis, Otoo was not altogether responsible for the death of Hamanemane. It appears that during the absence of Pomare in the island of Eimeo, the priest formed a league with the king to deprive the father of all authority in Otaheite. Hence originated the attack on the people of Matavai, when the inhabitants, unable to withstand the monarch and his sacred ally, fled for their lives to the hills. Pomare, enraged at this outbreak, sent private instructions to his consort Idia for his assassination. After some solicitation from his mother, the king, though in the closest alliance with Hamanemane, consented to his death.—Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. p. 35.

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announcing to you." The kind notices, we are assured, greatly strengthened Pomare's influence with the other chiefs, and operated as a salutary check upon the profligate seamen who were perpetually fomenting divisions and wars among them.

Aware that a reinforcement had become absolutely necessary to the christian labourers in the Georgian Islands, the Society in London, at a public meeting held on the 7th August 1798, resolved, that the directors be authorized to employ a ship for the purposes of supplying the brethren, who have settled in the Pacific Ocean, with assistance in their labours; of adding to their number, where circumstances may render it necessary; and of planting the gospel in other islands of that ocean, where it shall appear most eligible, from their extent, population, or other favourable circumstances.

The Duff was again selected for the objects now stated, and made ready for sea; but, when she approached the shores of South America, an enemy hove in sight, Le Grand Buonaparte, a French privateer, which carried thirty missionaries, their wives and families, as prisoners into Rio Janeiro, whence they were ultimately conveyed to Europe. During the two successive years, the affairs of Otaheite were at a low ebb. The natives, who still turned a deaf ear to the gospel, were attacked by a destructive epidemic, which swept a great number of them away, "their bodies wasted with disease, and their souls hurried into eternity in a state of the utmost insensibility." In the summer of 1801, a vessel, called the Royal Admiral, arrived from England, having eight preachers on board. On being landed, they were introduced to Pomare, who received them courteously, and with an appearance of great satisfaction; but it is admitted by those who witnessed the scene, that the only advantage he expected was the aid of their arms to intimidate his enemies, and to render his government more secure. They had carried with them many useful seeds and plants, on the culture of which they expended much care. Among these the vine, the fig, and the peach-tree

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seemed to thrive well, and might have added to the wealth of the islanders, had not a war ensued, in the course of which they were all destroyed.

The hostile rising now mentioned was occasioned by the refusal of the people of Atahuru to deliver Oro, the great national idol, into the hands of Pomare and his son the king. Several conflicts took place, with various success, between the rebels and the royal troops, which could not fail to carry dismay into the hearts of the missionaries. Meanwhile, the arrival of two trading ships on the coast added to their body twenty-three Englishmen, who, finding themselves exposed to a common enemy, united with them for self-defence. Under one of the captains they checked the progress of the disaffected, who, deprived of their god, fought with the utmost fury. The mission-house was converted into a garrison; the enclosures of the garden were destroyed, and the breadfruit trees were cut down, that they might not afford shelter to the enemy. With similar views, their chapel was also demolished. A strong paling was planted round the building; boards covered with nails were sunk in the paths leading to it; and thither the seamen retired in company with their spiritual allies, having learned that the next attack would be made upon them. Four brass cannon were fixed in two of the upper rooms, and all the inmates of the dwelling were placed under arms so far as the number of muskets would admit. These preparations produced the effect contemplated by the naval officers. The house was not actually attacked; and as Rua, the chief of the insurgents, was killed in a skirmish, an armistice followed, though without the formalities of a regular treaty.*

To profit by the improving condition of the country, some of the brethren proceeded into the interior, for the purpose of preaching the gospel. But the unreflecting people, who were not yet prepared to listen to its glad sound, inflicted upon their mild instructors various kinds

* Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. p. 59.

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of annoyance. They frequently refused to give any attendance whatever; and at other times, when they did assemble, they either talked all the while about the dress, complexion, or features of the missionaries, or tried to provoke them by base insinuations as to the object of their visit. They also endeavoured to excite the mirth of their companions by ludicrous gestures, or low witticisms on the statements that were made. It was no uncommon practice to bring dogs or fighting cocks, and let them loose at each other, so as completely to withdraw the attention of the audience. On some occasions, while the preachers were occupied with the most earnest exhortations, a band of areois might happen to pass, who, commencing their exhibitions, were sure to attract every one of the inconsiderate congregation. At such times, as is remarked by one of their number, those who had stood round the missionary only to insult him by their reproaches, ridicule him by their vulgar wit, or afflict his mind by their total indifference to the important truths he was declaring, have instantly formed a circle for the strolling players, and gazed on their pantomimic indecencies with the greatest pleasure.*

A circumstance not less unfavourable to the propagation of the christian religion was the impression made on the minds of the ignorant heathens, that a mortal disease, then prevailing in the island, was inflicted by Jehovah, who was supposed to be offended by their neglect of his worship. They did not scruple to tell the brethren that their God was killing the people; threatening, that when Oro once more gained the ascendency, the preachers, in their turn, should feel the effects of divine wrath.†

* Ellis, vol. ii. p. 62.

† Hitherto the labours of the missionaries had been confined to Otaheite; but, in December 1802, Mr Bicknell, accompanied by Mr Wilson, made a voyage to Eimeo, and, travelling round it, preached the unsearchable riches of Christ to its inhabitants, many of whom appeared to listen with earnestness, and desired to be more fully instructed.

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In 1803, Pomare the First died suddenly, and without any apparent cause; an event which was generally ascribed to his violent seizure of the great idol, and to the forcible means by which he retained possession. This chief, who possessed more than the ordinary share of vigour and penetration, was a patriotic ruler, brave in the field of battle, and devoted to the improvement of his country. He at no time professed belief in the new religion, having a vague idea that it could not successfully establish itself in the islands of the Pacific until Jehovah should appear in person to vindicate its claims. Being asked on one occasion if he understood what a preacher had stated, he replied, "there were no such things before in Otaheite; and they were not to be learned at once, but that he would wait the coming of the god." Shortly before his demise, he recommended the missionaries to the protection of his son, though the more he understood the chief object of their pursuit, the deeper was the aversion he manifested to it. To the favour of the native deities he considered himself entitled for the greatness to which his family had attained; and if the English instructors would have allowed the claims of Oro and Tané to receive an equal degree of attention with what they claimed for Jesus Christ, he would readily have admitted the Redeemer to a place among the national divinities. But when required to renounce all dependence upon the idols of his ancestors, and to acknowledge Jehovah alone as the true God, he at once rejected their message. Nor did his death in any degree alter the condition of things. On the contrary, it rather tended to confirm the people in their superstition; for on the occasion of a religious ceremony, when his spirit was invoked, it was declared that he was seen by Idia, his wife, and by one of the priests. To the latter it was said he appeared above the waters of the sea, having the upper part of his person bound with many folds of finely braided cinet.

Otoo assumed the name which his father had adopted, as a whim, from being seized with a cough one night

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that he passed in the open air.* His majesty did not materially alter his line of conduct towards the missionaries, whom he had all along rather tolerated than encouraged. These patient men, nevertheless, persevered in their efforts to instruct all the children who were allowed to attend them, and to prepare their own minds for more extensive duties whenever an opportunity should occur for discharging them. As yet, all their labours were received with ridicule, and rewarded with scorn. Early in 1805, they printed a catechism in the native alphabet, or rather adapted the Roman character, so far as was practicable, to the sounds in which the language of Otaheite was expressed. The king, fascinated with the power conferred by the pen and the press, became a diligent student; and delighted with his acquirements, he suggested to the brethren that they should build for him a small plastered house near their own, that he might attend to his writing uninterrupted by the avocations to which he was exposed at home.†

But a crisis was at hand which for a time interrupted the labours of the mission, and threw Otaheite into great confusion. On the 6th of November 1807, a vast number of men appeared in arms, near Matavai, and Pomare,

* His tent, we are informed by Mr Ellis, was pitched in an exposed situation; a heavy dew fell among the mountains; he took cold, and the next morning was affected with a cough. This led some of his adherents to designate the preceding night by the appellation of po-mare, night of cough, from *po*, night, and *mare*, cough. The chief was pleased with the sound of the words thus associated, adopted them as his name, and was ever afterwards called Pomare. Vol. ii. p. 70.

† The letter of Pomare the Second to the Missionary Society in London is truly characteristic: "Friends, I wish you every blessing, friends, in your residence in your country, with success in teaching this bad land, this foolish land, this wicked land, this land which is ignorant of good, this land that knoweth not the true God, this regardless land. Friends, I wish you health and prosperity, may I also live, and may Jehovah save us all! I wish you to send a great number of men, women, and children here. Friends, send also property, and cloth for us, and we also will adopt English customs. Friends, send also plenty of muskets and powder, for wars are frequent in our country, &c. &c. &c. (Signed) "POMARE, King of Tahiti."

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apprehending that his camp, stationed in the neighbourhood, would be immediately attacked, recommended that the wives and children of the Europeans should take shelter on board a ship in the harbour. The next morning, a letter was addressed by the missionaries to the captain, begging that he would delay his departure forty-eight hours, that they might deliberate on the steps necessary to be taken. The king advised the married ones to leave the island; who, being unanimously of opinion that there was no prospect of usefulness, even should the rebels retire, and discouraged by the little success which had attended the exertions of so many years, resolved to remove. Four offered to remain with their royal pupil, that they might be on the spot should any favourable change occur; the others, with most of the Europeans who happened to be resident in the district, sailed from Otaheite to Huaheine, where they were hospitably received.

As the fortune of war turned against the king, he found it necessary to retreat to Eimeo, whither he was accompanied by the few preachers who had remained at Matavai. Finding that the door of usefulness was not likely to be soon opened again in the Georgian Islands, the refugees, in the course of the following year, determined to avail themselves of the first conveyance suitable for removing their households to Port Jackson. Accordingly, on the 26th October 1809, they embarked for New Holland, leaving only Mr Haywood, who chose to continue in Huaheine, and Mr Holt, who still resided with Pomare in Eimeo. It was already known, that after a victory gained by them in the previous December, the rebels had plundered the districts of Matavai and Pare, and, devoting every house to destruction, had reduced the whole country to a state of absolute desolation. The dwellings attached to the mission were ransacked and burnt; and whatever they were not able to carry off, they utterly wasted. Every implement of iron was converted into a weapon of war. The most valuable books were either committed to the flames, or distributed to

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the warriors, for the purpose of making cartridges, and the printing types were converted into musket balls.*

This catastrophe was the occasion of deep sorrow and regret to many whose hopes had been fixed on a very different result. Seldom had any enterprise commenced under auspices more favourable, or that could promise more certain or speedy success to its authors; and yet, after the labours, sacrifice, and anxiety of twelve years, it arrived at a termination alike disastrous and fruitless. The missionaries had left their native land to save the remnant of an interesting people from destruction, and to promote their temporal as well as spiritual welfare. But, notwithstanding their utmost endeavours, they had seen the process of depopulation urged on with a fearful rapidity, by causes which, though they regretted them, they could neither diminish nor control; and amidst anarchy, bloodshed, and all the other horrors of barbarian warfare, they were ultimately driven from the field where they had trusted to gain a triumph for the gospel and the benign spirit of civilisation. There were many grounds to conclude that, during the time the mission had existed in Otaheite, the experiment of raising a savage people to the rank of a christian community had been tried and completely failed; and the result, according to the ordinary grounds of calculation, might be supposed to demonstrate the impropriety of expending more labour or money upon an object for the accomplishment of which it might be asserted that the time had not yet come.

But as the darkest hour of night is that which precedes the dawn of a new day, so the gloom now cást over the missionary cause was about to be followed by a brighter light than had yet shone upon their exertions in the South Sea. Pomare, who felt that when the European settlers left his shores, one of the principal means of improvement had been withdrawn from his people, no sooner saw affairs in a somewhat more settled

* Missionary Records, p. 173.

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state, than, in the most earnest manner, he invited them to return. He was still, indeed, an exile in Eimeo, excluded from his paternal dominions, and, consequently, had less power than formerly either to protect them from danger, or to aid their endeavours for spreading civilisation among his subjects. It is doubtful, too, whether his favourable thoughts towards the christian brethren ought to be ascribed to his late reverses, and to an impression thereby produced in regard to the inefficacy of idol-worship for obtaining supernatural aid; or whether adversity did not lead him to reflect on the declarations he had so often heard respecting the true God, and to connect his present condition with a sinful life, of which he had not yet seriously repented. But whatever may have been the motive, there is no doubt that his fallen estate had subdued his spirit, and, at the same time, weakened the influence which his native superstition had till then exercised over his heart. In the autumn of 1811, the missionaries left their retreat in New Holland, and set sail for the Georgian Isles, the original scene of their labours. They joined the king in Eimeo, where they now established a school, and, so far as circumstances would permit, resumed their wonted course of instruction in public and in private.

It was not long before their pious efforts were rewarded by a signal triumph of the christian faith over the absurdities of idolatry. In July 1812, the king publicly professed his belief in Jehovah, and his desire to be baptized into the sublime doctrines and hopes revealed by the gospel. For some time he was observed to manifest a feeling of indifference towards the superstition of his ancestors; and his people, who watched this change with great anxiety, had their doubts removed by the following occurrence. A turtle was sent to him as a present, which being, according to the notions of the Otaheitans, a sacred animal, is always dressed with consecrated fire, within the precincts of a temple, and a portion offered to the image of the presiding deity. The attendants were proceeding to the marai with the gift,

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when he called them back, and told them to prepare an oven in his own kitchen, and to present it at his table without any oblation to the god. His servants, overwhelmed with astonishment and fear, obeyed the injunction; the turtle was baked, and served up at the very next repast. The royal household stood around in mute expectation that some fearful token of divine anger would be manifested so soon as he should partake of the impious feast. The king, after carving the dish, began to eat, inviting some who sat with him to do the same; but no one could be induced to touch the unhallowed meal, dreading that such a daring insult to the national divinity would be punished by a frightful death before the entertainment should be completed.

By this act he loosened the hold whereby the false notions of early life had enthralled his own mind and the imaginations of his people, though a considerable time elapsed before the effect could be duly appreciated. When Pomare offered himself for baptism, he stated that he had endeavoured to persuade his father-in-law, and the King of Raiatea to renounce idolatry and become the disciples of Jesus Christ; but that in reply they had assured him, whatever he might do, they would adhere to Oro. Nor did he confine his exertions to private admonition. In public council he urged upon the two chiefs now mentioned the propriety of adopting the christian religion; manifesting at least his own sincerity, and also his determination to abide by the choice he thus openly vindicated.

Though the missionaries had good reason to believe that he was sincere in the desire he expressed to become a Christian, they resolved, before proceeding to the solemn rite of baptism, to wait for additional evidence of corresponding reformation in his conduct. They accordingly proposed that he should defer his formal initiation into the church until after receiving more ample instructions; an arrangement to which he acceded with a good grace, requesting that all necessary knowledge should be placed within his reach. He was soon recalled to

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Otaheite, whither two of the brethren accompanied him; and although he was not immediately reinstated in his former power, he continued firm in his renunciation of idolatry, in observing the Lord's-day, and on every suitable occasion maintaining the superiority of the christian religion. His example produced a considerable effect on those placed within its immediate influence; but, on the other hand, his apostasy from the usages of his fathers created many enemies, who saw in the losses he had recently sustained a proof that he was abandoned by Heaven, and that the wrath of his family-gods would yet be poured out more fully upon him. Pomare, nevertheless, continued steadfast, despised the ridicule with which he was assailed, and prepared himself to defend his new principles in the presence of the assembled chiefs.*

The little leaven had previously been deposited among the dry meal, and, in 1813, a fermentation began which proceeded to leaven the whole lump. Two or three individuals, who had either lived at the missionary station, or near the person of the king, began to inquire into the grounds of the new faith, in order to satisfy their own minds, and direct their worship into the proper channel. At length, without any professional teacher to guide them, they agreed to form among themselves a meeting for prayer, which they held on the first day of the week. Referring to his majesty, one of the preachers writes from Eimeo,—"he is still in Otaheite, and exposed to many and strong temptations: however, his example in public, in renouncing the idol gods and the religion of his country, and declaring his conviction of the truth, superiority, and excellence of our religion, has had a powerful influence on the morals of many, both there and in this island. Convictions stifled years ago, and instructions,

* Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. p. 99. In one of his letters the king writes:—"I continue to pray to God without ceasing. Regardless of other things, I am concerned only that my soul may be saved by Jesus Christ. It is my earnest prayer that I may become one of Jehovah's people; and that God may turn away his anger from me, which I deserve for my wickedness, my ignorance of him, and my accumulated crimes."

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as we thought, entirely thrown away, seem now to take effect. There is a stir among the people ; many doubt and waver, many examine and inquire ; in short, we have witnessed within the past six months what we did not expect, and scarcely hoped to see in our time. We have cause for praise and thankfulness ; we have cause to rejoice ; yet we rejoice with trembling, lest some of our present expectations should not be realized ; and we have no doubt that what we have now to communicate will excite the prayers and thanksgivings of many in our behalf, as also in behalf of these poor islanders."*

In the month of September, the number of converts was forty-two ; and as there was now a demand for books, the missionaries exerted themselves to procure copies of several elementary treatises, both in literature and theology. Having as yet no press, they found it necessary to send their manuscripts to Sydney, with the view of being printed ; an inconvenience from which they were shortly afterwards relieved. Meanwhile, as several of the chiefs espoused the christian cause, the principles of the gospel were every where received with greater respect, and regarded more closely as the rule of life. But the idolatrous party were not blind to the events which were taking place throughout all the islands in the neighbourhood of Otaheite. Urged by their priests, and encouraged by some of the more powerful leaders, they assembled in arms, resolved to oppose the return of the king, when finally recalled from Eimeo ; and, accordingly, in the end of November 1815, they made preparations to attack the Christians while engaged in the most solemn service of their religion. When the officiating minister was about to proceed, a firing of muskets was heard, and immediately after, a large body of men was seen advancing. A battle ensued, in which the pagans seemed at first to have the advantage ; but their champion being slain, a general rout followed, and Pomare found himself a conqueror in a field where no enemy remained

* Missionary Records, p. 193.

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to dispute his claim to the entire sovereignty of his native dominions.

The royal army, flushed with success, were, as usual, preparing to pursue and destroy the fugitives, when the king commanded that no more blood should be shed. This forbearance had an astonishing effect on the minds of the vanquished. During the following night, they sent spies from their places of retreat, to learn what had become of their wives, children, and aged relatives; all of whom were discovered in perfect safety, undisturbed by their triumphant foe. The intelligence at first appeared to them quite incredible; but after some days, they ventured from the mountains, whither they had fled, and returned to their houses, in which they found their property secure, and their families uninjured. To the king, from whom they received assurances of pardon, they made haste to tender their submission, imploring his forgiveness for having taken arms against him. When Pomare gave directions to his people to destroy the idolatrous temple, he said, "go not to the little island where the women and children have been left for security; turn not aside to the villages or plantations; neither enter into the houses, nor destroy any property, but go straight along the high road, through all your late enemy's districts." The party thus commissioned, proceeded to their destination; and having entered the marai, they brought out the idol, stripped it of its sacred coverings and ornaments, and dashed it to the ground. It was a rude uncarved log, about six feet long. The altars were then broken down, the fanes demolished, and all the instruments of worship committed to the flames. The unshapely piece of wood, called by the natives the body of Oro, and through which they imagined the power of the god was exerted, was brought in triumph to Pomare's camp, fixed up as a post in the royal kitchen, and afterwards used for the meanest purposes. Upon witnessing this end of the principal divinity adored by the Otaheitans, and in whose cause many desolating wars had been waged, the most zealous devotees became con-

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vinced of their delusion, and the people at large did not hesitate to declare that their gods had deceived them.

At this epoch idolatry may be said to have been abolished in the Georgian group, and the public mind delivered from a most degrading bondage. Private temples as well as those accounted national, were destroyed; the sacred images were treated with contempt; and even the least instructed of the inhabitants were ashamed to acknowledge a superstition which they saw every where repudiated. Messengers arrived, from time to time, deputed by influential chiefs, requesting that proper persons might be sent to teach them to read, and to instruct their dependants concerning the obedience required to the word of the true God. Schools were built, and places for public worship erected; the Lord's-day was piously observed; divine service regularly performed; and all the grosser abominations of the ancient ritual gradually fell into disuse. The missionaries who had fled returned to Otaheite, invited by the same people who formerly expelled them. From this period, their congregations often exceeded four hundred; the more intelligent among the catechumens were, at their religious meetings, requested to read a portion of Scripture; and some of them also wrote the prayers which they used in church.*

* Mr Nott has given a translation of an excellent form of prayer used by Pomare on one of those occasions:—" Jehovah, thou God of our salvation, hear our prayers, pardon thou our sins, and save our souls. Our sins are great and more in number than the fishes in the sea; and our obstinacy has been very great and without parallel. Turn thou us to thyself, and enable us to cast off every evil way; lead us to Jesus Christ, and let our sins be cleansed in his blood. Grant us thy good Spirit to be our sanctifier. Save us from hypocrisy. Suffer us not to come into thine house with carelessness, and return to our own houses to commit sin. Unless thou have mercy upon us, we perish. Unless thou save us, unless we are prepared, and made meet for thy habitation in heaven, we are banished to the fire—we die; but let us not be banished to that unknown world of fire. Save us through Jesus Christ, thy Son, the Prince of Life; yea, let us obtain salvation through him. Bless all the inhabitants of these lands, the families thereof: let every one stretch

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In a brief space, the same spirit extended itself to the other islands situated towards the west. The principal chief publicly renounced idolatry, and embraced the gospel. His example was soon followed by others, especially by the rulers of Bolabola, who distinguished themselves by their zeal in removing every trace of their former superstition, as well as by building a house for the worship of the true God. In no respect was this change more conspicuous than in the pious observance of the first day of the week, the whole of which was devoted to religious duties and instruction. No fire was lighted, no food was cooked. The natives assembled for prayer about sunrise; the stated service took place somewhat later; and a portion of the forenoon was devoted to the schooling of the less advanced among the converts. It is true that, in some cases, the simple people attached an undue importance to mere abstinence from bodily labour, forgetting that the Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath; and it is recorded, that one of them consented to lose his canoe rather than to remove it from the advancing tide. It is, indeed, readily admitted by their christian teachers, that only a very small number of those who were the most regular in observing the stated seasons of devotion, were influenced by a just feeling of the services in which they were engaged. With many it was but a customary engagement, which they supposed would lead God to regard them with favour; still there can be no doubt that the extent to which the habit prevailed must have been salutary in its general effects, leading their thoughts frequently to the subject of their prayers, and restraining them from the open indulgence of those sins from which they entreated their Maker that they might be delivered.

out his hand to God, saying, Lord save me! Lord save me! Let all these islands, Otaheite, with all the inhabitants of Maurua, Huaheine, and of Raiatea, and of the little islands around, partake of thy salvation. Bless Britain and every country in the world. Let thy word grow with speed in the world, so as to exceed the progress of evil. Be merciful to us, and bless, for Jesus Christ's sake."—*Missionary Records*, p. 223.

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In 1817, the South Sea mission received a valuable enlargement of its numbers by the arrival of eight individuals, devoted to the arduous labours of their vocation, including Mr Ellis, to whose various writings the cause of Christianity in those remote parts has been much indebted. He relates, that on the first Lord's-day he was in the island of Eimeo he assembled with the brethren at their prayer meeting, and afterwards attended the native service. " It had not commenced when I arrived at the place of worship, yet that and the enclosed ground around it were so crowded that I could scarcely gain an entrance. The service commenced by singing, when the praises of God were sounded by many of the native voices. So attentive were the hearers, so solemn and interesting the appearance of the congregation, such the emotions of pleasure excited in my mind, that I felt quite overcome.*

The missionary now named having, at the request of the directors in London, learned the art of printing, had carried out a press, with a suitable assortment of types, in order to furnish to the teachers in the several islands a supply of books. An office was built by the people, who now began to appreciate the value of even the small literary accomplishments which had been placed within their reach. The king, too, manifested a great interest in the proceeding; and to encourage him in the good work, he was invited to throw off the first sheet that was printed in his dominions. " Having been told how it was to be done, he jocosely charged his attendants not

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* Missionary Records, p. 232. Mr Ellis, in his Researches, vol. ii. p. 207, remarks, that between five and six hundred native Christians were present. " Their persons were cleanly, their apparel neat, their countenances either thoughtful or beaming with serenity and gladness. The heads of the men were uncovered, their hair cut and combed, and their beards shaven. The appearance of the females was equally interesting; most of them wore a neat and tasteful bonnet, made with the rich yellow-tinted cocoa-nut leaf. Their countenances were open and lively; many had a small bunch of the fragrant and delicately white gardinia, or Cape jessamine flowers in their hair."

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to look very particularly at him, and not to laugh if he should not do it right. I put the printer's ink-ball into his hand, and directed him to strike it two or three times upon the face of the letters; this he did, and then placing a sheet of clean paper upon the parchment, it was covered down, turned under the press, and he was directed to pull the handle. He did so, and when the paper was removed from beneath the press, and the covering lifted up, the chiefs and assistants rushed towards it, to see what effect the king's pressure had produced. When they beheld the letters black and large, and well defined, there was one simultaneous expression of wonder and delight. Pomare took up the sheet, and having looked first at the paper and then at the types with attentive admiration, handed it to one of his chiefs, and expressed a wish to take another. He printed two more; and while he was so engaged, the first sheet was shown to the crowd without, who, when they saw it, raised one general shout of astonishment and joy."*

Two thousand six hundred copies of a spelling-book were soon thrown off, being greatly wanted by the young pupils. Next followed a catechism, scriptural extracts, and a translation of the Gospel according to St Luke. Natives were forthwith instructed to perform the more laborious parts of the duty in the printing-office, for which they received regular wages; and though some obstacles presented themselves in a country where repairs could not be conveniently made, nor necessary wants supplied, the mechanical processes succeeded better than the most sanguine had expected. When we estimate the benefits which the South Sea Islanders have received from the circulation of books, and the advantages which future generations will derive from the establishment of the press, we cannot but regard the introduction of printing as a most auspicious event. The 30th of June 1817 was on this account an important day in the history of Otaheite: and there is no act of

* Researches, p. 221.

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Pomare's life, the abolition of idolatry excepted, which will be remembered with more grateful feeling than the circumstance of his printing the first page of the first book issued from the native press. The curiosity awakened in the inhabitants was not soon satisfied. His majesty himself paid daily visits; the chiefs attended at the windows and doors; while the populace, applying their eyes to every crevice through which a peep could be obtained, were often heard uttering involuntary exclamations, "O Britain, land of skill and knowledge!"*

Nor was the benefit long confined to the island where the manufacture of books was first established. The important intelligence having reached that cluster which is known by the name of the Dangerous Archipelago, a deputation was sent to Eimeo for the purpose of procuring teachers and elementary treatises for their countrymen. The Otaheitans were wont to regard these neighbours as belonging to the lowest class of savages, and even as cannibals, speaking of them with the greatest contempt; but Pomare, respecting their motives, took them under his protection, and resolved to gratify their wishes to the utmost extent of his power. When some individuals from a similar tribe were admitted to see the operations of the press, their astonishment had no limits. At first they hesitated to approach it, and seemed doubtful whether they ought to consider it as an animal or a machine. Meanwhile the spirit of competition spread over all the Society Islands, and crowds flocked to the shores of Eimeo for books. The use of money being unknown to the greater part of the inhabitants, they brought as an equivalent portions of cocoa-nut oil in bamboo canes; and happy did they esteem themselves, if in return for the fruits of their industry they could obtain a volume, more especially a portion of the Sacred Scriptures. Many of them, it is admitted, were influenced by motives of mere curiosity, or by a desire to possess an article of property now highly

* Researches, vol. ii. p. 225.

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esteemed by all parties. Others perhaps viewed a page of letter-press on a religious subject as a charm, whereby the smiles of fortune might be secured, and the influence of evil spirits averted. But there is also reason to believe that not a few were actuated by a desire to become more fully acquainted with the revelation God had made to man, and to read for themselves, in their own language, those truths which were able to make them wise unto salvation.*

Encouraged by their success in Eimeo the missionaries resolved to extend their labours to the Society Islands, situated towards the west and north. Some time had been spent in preparing a vessel as well for the purposes of trade as for the convenience of their families when removing from one station to another; and in the month of December the Haweis was launched in the presence of a vast multitude of the natives who rejoiced to see this addition made to their resources. Profiting by this conveyance, several of the brethren returned to Otaheite, the original scene of their toils and sufferings; some went to Huaheine, and others repaired to Raiatea, where an earnest desire was expressed for their appearance. Every where did the people receive them with gladness, render their utmost aid in the erection of houses and in the acquisition of their language, and even gave heed to their instructions, which were not altogether unattended with the Divine blessing. It is acknowledged, however, that with most of the lower class it was still a merely civil or political change; they renounced their

* Mr Ellis relates, that "when the Gospel of Luke was finished, an edition of hymns in the native language was printed, partly original, and partly translations from our most approved English compositions; and although the book was but small, it was acceptable to the people, who are exceedingly fond of metrical compositions, their history and traditions having been preserved in a metrical kind of ballad. This circumstance rendered the hymn-book which was completed at Huaheine quite a favourite, and afforded the means not only of assisting in the matter of their praises to Almighty God, but enabled us to convey the most important truths of revelation in the manner most attractive and familiar to the native mind."

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idols, and listened to the christian teachers, because their rulers did so, and wished them to follow the example.

In truth, the chiefs had already perceived so many temporal advantages connected with Christianity, that they became desirous, on secular grounds alone, to extend its principles among their dependants. A meeting was accordingly held by them in May 1818, with the view of forming a voluntary association in aid of the society, and of organizing a system whereby they themselves might co-operate with the benevolent foreigners to whom they owed the first knowledge of the true religion. After a suitable discourse by one of the brethren, Pomare addressed the assembly in a forcible manner regarding the object he meant to advocate. He began by reminding them how much of their time was spent in worshipping idols, "what a deal of work they did for their false gods; the whole of their property consumed, their cloth, their pigs, their fish, their canoes, and all their strength and means were thrown away in the service of a piece of wood; even their own lives were sacrificed in hundreds. He had a subject to propose to them, which he thought it was right for them to agree to, and if they did, well; but if not, it was still good. He had to propose to them that they should collect a little property for assisting in spreading the gospel. He explained the means, says Mr Williams, by which we were brought here: it was by giving money to the captains of ships; for the natives think that we go on board a ship as they go on board of one another's canoes, and sail where we like. But the king told them it was not the case; on the contrary, that a great quantity of money was given to the captains before they would bring us. This, he informed them, was obtained from good people who wished the word of God to grow: all the little monies were collected into one big money, by which means they now enjoyed the blessings of the gospel, and he thought it right that they should use their endeavours to send the gospel to other lands, who still are as they themselves once were. He said, although they had no money, yet

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they might give pigs, arrow-root, oil, and cotton to buy money with. He then alluded to the people of Africa, who collected elephants' teeth, or gave a sheep, and concluded by reading the rules of the society."*

Similar institutions were formed in other parts. The chief of Huaheine, who had attended the meeting in Eimeo, assembled his people at Fare, for the establishment of an auxiliary society for that island, and another politically connected with it. In September 1819, a similar association was formed in Raiatea, of which the king was named the president, and over the interests of which he watched with much diligence till his death. For many years these missionary institutions, being extremely popular, were liberally supplied; the first-fruits of which, sent to the parent funds, amounted to one thousand eight hundred and sixty pounds. They are still supported by the more pious portion of the community; and though the amount of subscriptions is now but inconsiderable, they keep before the minds of the people the great duty of seeking the salvation of others. By them, too, have been sent a number of native teachers, who, by preparing their way, have proved useful assistants to the more regular ministers, and still confer an incalculable advantage on the several islands where they are stationed.

But, as in all human arrangements, evil mixes with good, the necessity of directing the commercial transactions by which "money is bought," has exposed the preachers to the imputation of selfish motives. Even the rearing of the animals conveyed by the brethren to the several islands, because the meat and milk were sold, has been made the foundation for a similar charge. These commodities were not only of great service to their own families, but by furnishing ships with beef, they were farther enabled to procure in exchange necessary articles of European manufacture. It is confessed, however, by one of themselves, that "this, together with the mis-

* Missionary Records, p. 246. Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. p. 268. Mr Ellis gives the speech at greater length and in better language; but the main topics are the same.

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sionary's only mode of receiving support from the people, has been attended with some inconveniences; it has obliged him in his intercourse with those by whom he has been visited, to act more like a trader than he himself desired, or than he would otherwise have thought compatible with his office. The circumstance, however, may be considered as peculiar, and resulting from the present condition of the people, who are in the state of transition from barbarism to civilisation; these evils will of themselves cease as the improvement of society advances."*

It is manifestly to such circumstances that we must ascribe the unfriendly strictures on the missionary cause made by Kotzebue and other voyagers in the Pacific. The use of money is but partially introduced, and its relative value little understood; hence commerce, to a great extent, must be carried on by barter. The brethren, instead of receiving for the bills they draw on the Society an equivalent amount in coin, obtain from London cutlery, cottons, and other goods, with which they pay the natives who act as their labourers or domestic servants, and also purchase such things as they may require from the people. This likewise leads them to exchange the products which they themselves can raise for those foreign commodities that the masters of trading vessels are accustomed to take to the islands. The captains of ships were formerly in the habit of soliciting their aid in transacting business with the inhabitants; but although they were willing to render assistance, the evils resulting from their being thus made the medium of traffic were so numerous, that they found it expedient to decline the office altogether. Both parties on some occasions were dissatisfied; each complained of the ignorance or injustice of the negotiator; whence arose most of the charges circulated against the teachers in the country, and carried to

* Vindication of the South Sea Missions, p. 66. The apology made by Mr Ellis will be received as satisfactory by many, who, nevertheless, regret that missionaries should ever become merchants.

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Europe by persons who had neither time nor opportunity to investigate the truth.*

Nothing in the history of the human race can appear to the reflecting mind more gratifying or extraordinary than the establishment of a mission under the auspices of the chiefs in the islands of the South Sea for the propagation of the gospel. It may be granted that their notions of the christian system were far from being enlightened, while their motives unquestionably retained a strong mixture of earthly ingredients. That this was the case to a very considerable extent, is not concealed by their instructors, who, in reference more especially to the two clusters of the Society Archipelago, describe the religion of the greater part of the people as being at first merely nominal; and that at the time they assumed the profession of Christianity, they knew little more of it than that it enjoined the worship of one God instead of many, required no human sacrifices, no offering except prayer, and abstinence from labour every seventh day. The change applied almost solely to the outward observance, and had not yet reached either the decisions of the understanding or the feelings of the heart. Still it was a most important revolution, which must necessarily be followed by a movement in advance. Idolatry could not again resume its empire: the chain of the captive has been broken; and the appetite for new views both in human arts and divine knowledge would necessarily seek gratification at all hazards. The result corresponds in no small degree with this anticipation; the tree planted among them by the missionaries has brought forth fruit both good and evil; tares have grown up with the wheat, but the land is no longer a desert; and the ample produce denotes at least the inherent powers of the soil.†

Pomare II., though not remarkable either for taste or temperance, continued throughout his whole life to be

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* Ellis's Vindication, as above quoted.

† For the concession mentioned in the text, see Missionary Records, p. 249.

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an active instrument for extending the profession of the new faith among his subjects. Having heard of the temple of Jerusalem, the church of St Peter's at Rome, and the magnificent cathedrals which do so much honour to the piety of England, he resolved to have a similar erection in Otaheite. In point of extent at least his plan might vie with any structure in modern times, being more than seven hundred feet in length, and nearly sixty in width. The centre was supported by thirty-six massy pillars formed of wood; the sides or walls were boarded from the top to the bottom; and the lower end of the rafters on which the roof was laid rested on two hundred and eighty smaller posts. There were a hundred and thirty-three windows and twenty-nine doors. In the interior were three pulpits, about two hundred and sixty feet from each other; it was filled with forms or benches, except a small area in front of the pulpits, and the floor was carpeted with dry grass. The rafters were covered with a fine species of fringed matting, which, bound with cords of various colours in a very neat manner, gave to the roof the appearance of a splendid ceiling.

On the 11th May 1819, the "Royal Mission Chapel" was opened, when the people, to the number of about six thousand, assembled, arrayed in their best attire. Three ministers occupied the pulpits, and three sermons were preached at the same moment to three separate congregations; the house being so large that the several orators did not hear one another's voice.* Two days after this interesting ceremony, a meeting was held in the same place for the promulgation of certain laws, which it had been found expedient to enact, limiting the powers of the sovereign, and securing the rights of the subject. All the civil usages of the islands had been so closely connected with idolatry, that, when the latter was abol-

* Mr Ellis, who afterwards visited the royal chapel, says, "how it might be when the house was filled I do not know; but when empty, the human voice could be distinctly heard from the one end to the other, without any great effort on the part of those who at this distance called or answered."—*Researches*, vol. ii. p. 379.—*Missionary Records*, p. 253.

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ished, the former ceased to have any sanction; and hence, both those who administered justice, and those who appealed to its protection, were equally at a loss how to proceed. The missionaries, whose advice was frequently asked, had wisely declined to interfere in political or judicial affairs; and it was not until Pomare himself requested their aid, that they consented to join with their spiritual functions the office of legislators. The code, which was prepared by the king and a few of the chiefs, assisted by Mr Nott, was remarkably simple, comprehending only eighteen heads. It was not indeed altogether satisfactory to the brethren, but it was perhaps better suited than a more perfect system to the partial light the inhabitants at that time possessed, and to the peculiar disposition of the ruler. He was exceedingly jealous of his prerogative, and unwilling to admit others to a participation in his power. Several of the articles had a reference to the crimes most prevalent in Otaheite and Eimeo, such as murder, theft, trespass, stolen property, sabbath-breaking, rebellion, and adultery. The remainder regulated the solemnity of marriage, the appointment of judges, and matters of finance. The first copy of these statutes, read by the king in the ears of the people, was written by himself. He afterwards transcribed them in a fair hand for the press; but the original manuscript, made and signed by his majesty, is in the possession of the Missionary Society in London. The laws themselves were printed in the native languages, and distributed largely throughout both islands. After a brief space, too, similar ordinances were publicly adopted in Raiatea, and recognised by the inhabitants of Tahaa, Bolabola, and Maupiti. In addition to the enactments of Otaheite, the Society Islanders resolved to introduce the "trial by jury;" the greatest legal improvement hitherto attempted by the reformers of the Pacific. The proceedings were every where divested as much as possible of technical form; and, though some slight embarrassments were occasionally encountered, as might be expected in a country totally unaccustomed to

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any prescribed method, the administration of justice, upon the whole, was so conducted by the magistrates as to give general satisfaction.*

Three days after the promulgation of the code of laws, the great chapel was made the scene of another interesting ceremony. Pomare, at an early period of his career as a Christian, had requested to be admitted to the ordinance of baptism. For reasons, which are stated by them in the most unreserved manner, the missionaries deemed it expedient to postpone this sacred rite; but being now satisfied that his desire to be initiated was founded on proper motives, and that his conduct was not likely to throw discredit on his profession, it was resolved that the sacrament should be administered to him in the presence of the assembled multitude. Accordingly, the three pulpits were again occupied by three preachers, who all discoursed on the same subject. "The sermons being ended, we all closed round the king, he being seated on this occasion near the middle pulpit. Brother Bourne commenced by giving out a hymn, which was sung by the congregation. Brother Bicknell engaged in

* Captain Gambier gives an interesting account of their proceedings on one of those occasions. "At the appointed time, a great many people assembled under some very fine trees near the queen's house. A small bench was brought for the two judges; the rest either stood or sat upon the ground, forming something less than a semicircle. We were provided with low seats near the judges. The two prisoners were seated cross-legged upon the ground, under the shade of a small tree, about twenty paces in front of the judges. They were both ill-looking men dressed in the graceful tipata. When all was ready to begin, one of the judges rose and addressed the prisoners at considerable length. He explained to them the accusation which brought them there, and read to them the law under which, if found guilty, they would be punished. When he had finished, and called upon them to say whether it was true or not, one of them got up and answered with great fluency and good action. He maintained their innocence, and called a witness to confirm it. The witness very artfully turned his evidence to the account of the prisoners. Others, also, in some way or other favoured the accused, and the defendants were therefore discharged for want of evidence." Quoted by Ellis, vol. iii. p. 142. Captain G. C. Gambier commanded his majesty's ship Dauntless.

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prayer; which being ended, the king stood up. Brother Bicknell stood on the steps of the pulpit, and taking the water from the basin held by Brother Henry, poured it on his head, baptizing him in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Pomare was observed to lift up his eyes to heaven and move his lips with an indistinct sound. The sight was very moving, especially to our elder brethren, who had watched over him so many years."*

Similar success attended their labours in the Society Islands. At Raiatea, the congregation consisted of more than a thousand individuals. Great attention was given to the education of the children, and to the furtherance of industrious employments among the people; some of whom were taught to practise mechanical arts as carpenters, boatbuilders, blacksmiths, and plasterers. So qualified, they built for themselves a commodious chapel, fitted to accommodate sixteen hundred persons. In the year 1820, the holy communion was administered for the first time in the district of Fare, island of Huaheine. In front of the pulpit, a neat table, covered with white native cloth, was fixed, upon which the sacramental vessels were placed. As a wheaten loaf could not be conveniently had, the ministers employed an article of food as nearly resembling it as possible, the roasted bread-fruit, pieces of which were laid on the patten. Possessing wine, they were not compelled, on this occasion, to have recourse to any substitute, such as the juice of the cocoa-nut, which some of the brethren elsewhere had found it necessary to use.†

About the close of 1821, Pomare II., the sovereign of Otaheite and Eimeo, departed this life. It is not disguised, that his illness was aggravated by intemperance, a frailty which neither religion nor the sense of official dignity could induce him to overcome. Many parts of

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* Missionary Records, p. 257. "Pomare shook hands affectionately with all the missionaries, they being stationed by his own desire at his right hand and his left."

† Ibid. p. 273.

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his conduct, during the latter part of his life, had occasioned to the brethren much pain; but they could not remember without gratitude the important favours he had conferred upon the nation, and the benefit they had derived from his countenance in prosecuting the great work to which their lives were devoted. One of them, referring to this event, observes, that he was a prince who never had an equal in these islands; the friend of all foreigners, and the protector of the missionaries. In knowledge of every kind he was quite unrivalled among his countrymen. Had he enjoyed the advantages of education, he would have attained to as high a degree of eminence as some of the greatest men have reached.* He

* Mr Ellis, in his third volume, p. 249, gives an interesting view of the moral and intellectual qualities of Pomare II., whose doings could not have been indicated by his appearance, which rather tended to produce an unfavourable impression on a stranger's mind. "During the latter part of his life, his conduct was in many respects exceptionable, and his character appeared less amiable than it had been before. He had shown his weakness in allowing the unfounded representations of a transient visiter to induce him to request that the manufacture of sugar might not be extensively carried on.—A few years before his death, he was induced by the representations of designing and misinformed individuals to engage in injudicious commercial speculations with persons in New South Wales. This proved a great source of disquietude to his mind, and probably hastened his death. One or two vessels were purchased for him at a most extravagant price; and the produce of the island was required to pay for them, and to defray expenses connected with their navigation. One of them was seized, a lawsuit instituted in consequence at Port Jackson, the rahui or taboo laid upon the island, the rights of property were invaded, and no native was allowed to dispose of any article of produce, excepting to the agents of the king. He became the chief factor in the island, or rather the instrument of those who were associated with him in these commercial speculations, and who used his authority to deprive the people of the right to sell the fruits of their own labour. The inhabitants were required to bring their pigs, oil, &c., and to receive in return what he chose to give them; the individuals who urged upon him this policy, considered all they could obtain by any means as fair emolument. The welfare of the nation, the natural rights of the people, the establishment of commerce upon just and honourable principles, were beneath their regard. It is needless to add, that these speculations ended in embarrassment and loss. The habits

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was succeeded by his infant son, who, inheriting his name, was recognised as sovereign, under the title of Pomare the Third. Under the regency which ensued, no material change immediately took place; but it was remarked, that those ties which had hitherto held the nation together began gradually to lose their power.*

During several years, Christianity and civilisation advanced in company, at a steady rate, throughout most of the Society and Georgian Islands. No reaction had as yet taken place, and neither the political agitation nor the immorality to which the demise of the king ultimately led was any where perceptible. Ardent spirits were not introduced to any alarming extent; the schools were still well attended; the Sacred Scriptures were eagerly sought; the chapels were generally filled; and social intercourse in all ranks was amazingly improved. An academy was established for the education of the missionaries' families, where it was meant they should receive such instruction as would prepare them to occupy useful situations in future life. The children of natives,

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which Pomare was led to indulge, in consequence of these associations, threw a stain upon his character, and cast a gloom over his mind, from which he never recovered, and under the cloud thus induced, he ended his days."

* For an account of the coronation of Pomare III., we refer to the same author (vol. iii. p. 260), who relates, that when the procession reached the platform, "the king was seated in his chair; in the centre before him, on small tables, the crown, the Bible, and the code of laws were placed. Being only four years of age, he was necessarily passive in the important business. Mr Davis, one of the senior missionaries, spoke for him; and as all were requested to take a part in the ceremonies, when the king had been asked if he promised to govern the people with justice and mercy, agreeably to the laws and the word of God, Mr Nott placed the crown on his head, and pronounced a benediction upon the young ruler. Mr Darling then presented him with a Bible, accompanying the presentation with a suitable address. They also anointed his person with oil; a part of the ceremony, says Mr Ellis, which, I think, might have been as well dispensed with."

We need not add, that this was the first coronation ever witnessed in the islands of the South. Investment with the *maro ura*, or sacred girdle, was the native practice, and used on all former occasions.

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if distinguished for piety and talent, had free access to it, with the view of being afterwards sent to a more advanced seminary, calculated for training pastors to serve in different stations throughout the South Sea. In the year 1826, the patrons of the mission could announce that the gospel was professed throughout the two clusters of islands to which our remarks now apply; that nine thousand adults had been baptized; that upwards of a thousand individuals were admitted to church fellowship; that the number under school instruction amounted to four thousand five hundred; and that nearly the whole population had opened up to them, through various channels, sources of knowledge on moral and religious subjects, as well as on the several arts which contribute to the comfort or embellishment of life.*

The death of the young king, in January 1827, led to events somewhat unfavourable to the cause of civilisation and divine truth. His sister Aimata succeeded him on the throne, though, being still under age, the former regency continued to act. At first the change in public feeling was not perceptible; but in course of time it was perceived, that this second breach in Pomare's family weakened the force of those regulations under which his authority had held many who were disaffected towards the new order of things introduced by the gospel. Even when the acknowledgment of Christianity was almost general, and attention to its external requirements very regular, there were multitudes that professed it, who yet were strangers to any moral or spiritual impulse, and who, impatient of the restraints under which they were placed, longed for such a revolution in public sentiment as might again restore to them their wonted

* See Journal of Voyages and Travels, by the Rev. Daniel Tyerman, and George Bennet, Esq. deputed from the London Missionary Society to visit their various Stations in the South Sea Islands, China, India, &c. Compiled from Original Documents, by James Montgomery (2 vols 8vo, Lond. 1831), vol. ii. p. 90, &c.

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freedom. This bad feeling, too, was greatly strengthened by the number of ships which now resorted thither for refreshments. These were chiefly vessels engaged in the whale-fishing, which, owing to the uncertainty of obtaining supplies in the South American towns, and the exorbitant charges now made at the Sandwich group, found it convenient to visit the Society Islands. Some of them remained several weeks in harbour, introducing all the irregularities incident to a seaport, and countenancing the natural licentiousness of the people, who again became addicted to the use of ardent spirits.

It is known that, when the gospel was first adopted as the religion of the Windward Isles, the apparatus previously used for distillation was systematically destroyed; and, moreover, that the chiefs, during a long period, steadily opposed all the efforts of foreign traders to revive a practice which, they were convinced, was more destructive of happiness, and even of life, than war, human sacrifice, and infanticide united. But the late king connived at this indulgence on the part of his retainers; and hence, in defiance of the wisest regulations, increasing quantities of spirits were received from the ships, supplying the means of a growing intemperance.*

Nor was the prevalence of wickedness among the people the only obstacle with which the new religion had to contend. In addition to positive crime an alarming heresy arose, which threatened the most fatal consequences to faith as well as to practice. Two individuals, laying claim to plenary inspiration, announced themselves as the sole medium of communication with heaven; and under the influence of fanaticism or fraud, affirmed that the millennium was come, that moral evil no longer existed, that the ten commandments had ceased to have any force, and, consequently, that every one might safely follow the course of life most agreeable to his own desires. These tenets produced in some of the stations great irregularities, and a very general defection from evangelical

* Missionary Records, p. 302.

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truth. The church at Maurua, which was thereby entirely dissolved, yielded to all the licentious maxims introduced by the visionaries of Otaheite.

Notwithstanding these untoward events, the progress of Polynesian society in the arts and enjoyments of civilized life continued to confirm the hopes of philanthropists at home and abroad, that their labours had not been expended altogether in vain. The industry and enterprise of the people were gradually increasing; the number of vessels which visited their shores created a demand for vegetables, live stock, and other supplies; and a prosperous traffic among the different islands necessarily led to ship-building on a considerable scale. Down to the close of 1830 public tranquillity remained unbroken, though certain causes of misunderstanding between the queen and the chiefs had threatened the fearful calamity of a civil contest. Indeed, in the commencement of the following year, the hostile parties were about to enforce their respective claims by an appeal to arms, when an English ship of war, the Comet, providentially arrived at Otaheite. The commander, with great promptitude, united with the missionaries in their endeavours to maintain peace, and their efforts were successful.*

It is not unworthy of notice that, at this crisis, the descendants of such of the mutineers on board the Bounty as had taken refuge in Pitcairn's Island, debarked in Papeete Bay, with the view of fixing a permanent residence in the territories of Queen Pomare. Finding the resources

* Captain Sandilands, in a reply made by him to a letter of thanks received from the missionaries, ascribes the acceptance by the queen of his offer of mediation "much more to the intelligence and ability displayed by you, at so momentous and interesting a time, than to any intrinsic merit that my proposals possessed; and it is a circumstance affording me the highest satisfaction, to observe the great estimation you are all held in by the queen and her chiefs, which could not have been obtained but by a faithful discharge of your duties as ministers of Christ and teachers of our holy religion; and it will be peculiarly gratifying to me to make known these circumstances more fully to those authorities whom it is my duty to inform of this transaction."

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of the small spot of land on which Adams had established his colony much too limited to supply them with the means of subsistence, they applied to the captain of the Comet, who removed them, eighty-seven in number, to the country of their maternal ancestors. But the circumstances under which they reached the shore could not fail to produce an unfavourable impression on their minds. The royal army on the one side, and the principal chiefs with their followers on the other, were encamped in a hostile attitude at no great distance. It is true, both parties concurred in expressions of good will towards the strangers, and a piece of ground in the neighbourhood was appropriated to their accommodation; but their minds being ill at ease, and their health affected by the change of climate or of food, they soon embraced an opportunity, gratuitously supplied to them, of returning to their native abode.

The disaffection which alarmed the Georgian Islands produced results still more unhappy in the Society cluster. The chief of Tahaa, having resolved to withdraw his allegiance from the King of Raiatea, thereby gave rise to the most disastrous war which has occurred in that part of the Pacific since the introduction of Christianity. In May 1831, the venerable Tamatoa, whose name occurs frequently in the missionary annals as an ardent friend of the new religion, fell a victim to grief and fatigue. From the moment of his conversion he appeared to be influenced by a sincere conviction of truth; and his dying charge to his people was, to preserve the word of God with vigilance, and to be careful that it should not be driven from their shores.*

Such commotions were almost necessarily productive of dissension and indifference among the mixed multitude who professed to believe in the gospel, without fully understanding its principles or imbibing its power. At the close of 1832, accordingly, it was evident to those

* Missionary Records, p. 315. Tamatoa is known to have written several letters to the London Missionary Society, besides others to private correspondents in England.

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who viewed the general aspect of the missions, that though external ordinances were observed, those whose faith was sincere constituted only a small minority; and that there was an obvious line drawn between true and ostensible believers, who formed two separate classes which had little in common. That this unfortunate distinction should have taken place, cannot be matter of surprise to those who have estimated the causes of deterioration which had been allowed to operate. Exposed to the evil communication which corrupteth good manners, the flexible mind of the soft barbarian could not resist the powerful temptation which assailed his principles through his appetites. A flood-gate for the practice of iniquity was thus opened, whilst the unconfirmed conscience, not accustomed to the finer distinctions which separate virtue from vice, supplied an argument to the sinner that, though guilty, he might escape punishment. Those who, during this period of trial, had no root in themselves, naturally fell away; and others, who were strangers to any higher principle than regard for the opinion of the world, returned in haste, like the sow that was washed, to wallow in the mire. The churches were afflicted by a partial defection; the enemy triumphed, and the friend of religion mourned over the catastrophe. Such details as have reached this country since the date just mentioned will be communicated to the reader in a subsequent chapter.

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CHAPTER V.

Marquesas, Low Archipelago, and Austral Islands.

Marquesas discovered by Mendana—Description—Climate—Inhabitants—Intercourse with Spaniards—Cruelty practised by Manriquez—Visit of Captain Cook in 1774—One of the Natives killed—The Dædalus arrives at Santa Christina—Attack on an Officer—The Duff touches at the Marquesas and lands two Missionaries—Despondency of one of them—Mission renewed and abandoned—Voyage of the Olive Branch—Missionaries from the Sandwich Islands—Notice by Mr Bennett of the Tuscan—Visit of Captain Waldegrave—Character of the People in the Low Archipelago—Form of the Islands—Justly called "Dangerous"—Whence peopled—Gambier Islands—Inhabitants seek refuge in the Georgian Group—Conversion to Christianity—Violence inflicted on Missionaries—Their Religion and Manners—Incident on Island of Byam Martin—Bow Island—Pitcairn's Island—Account of John Adams and Family—Visit of Christian and Young—The domestic and religious Habits of the People—Visited by Captain Beechey—Austral Isles—Rapa Chapel and School—Raivavai—Church organized—Toobouai—Inhabitants converted—Rurutoo—Docility of Natives—Rimatara—Advance in Civilisation—New Islands discovered.

It is obvious that, in most cases, the lines which separate the several clusters of islands must be to a great extent imaginary, because there are no natural boundaries, or even characteristic distinctions, whereby their precise position might be determined. There is, notwithstanding, a certain convenience in describing them under particular heads, inasmuch as, while following out this principle, we are naturally led to mark the date of their discovery, the geological features connected with their

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supposed origin, and the peculiarities of the people by whom they are respectively inhabited.

The Marquesas were first visited in 1595 by a Spanish navigator, Alvaro Mendana de Neyra, who, in compliment to a man of rank, gave them the name which they continue to bear. They extend about two hundred miles in a north-west and south-east direction, and are situated between lat. 10° 30′ and 7° 50′ S., and long. 139° and 141° W. A wide channel divides them into two groups, of which the south-eastern contains five, and the south-western eight; the latter, having been seen by the Americans in 1797, are sometimes denominated Washington Islands. An elevated ridge of mountains pervades them all in the direction of their length, and in the larger ones rises to an elevation of 2000 or 3000 feet. These eminences have on both sides high offsets or branches, which extend to the shores of the ocean, and thus divide the low land into valleys, which have no communication with one another except across the intervening hills. The coast is rocky, steep, and beaten by a continual surf; there being no coral reef to protect it from the heavy surge which characterizes the Pacific. There are, however, numerous harbours in both sections of the Marquesas, especially those of Anna Maria and Comptroller's Bay, to which may be added the one named Resolution, to commemorate the arrival of the celebrated Cook.

The climate, though somewhat hot, is considered very healthy. The thermometer ranges from 60° to 80° of Fahrenheit; and when the sun is northward of the equator, there is usually abundance of rain. Thunder-storms rarely occur. As might be anticipated, the prevailing wind is from the east, more especially during the autumnal months; but northern breezes are not uncommon in summer, while in winter they proceed generally from the south-west. The fruit-trees are chiefly the cocoa-nut, bread-fruit, and papaw, a species of fig, though the inhabitants also cultivate bananas, plantains, and sweet-potatoes. Their garments are derived from

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the bark of the mulberry-tree, in preference to cotton, which grows in abundance, and is greatly superior to that cultivated in other parts of the South Sea. Sugar and tobacco might also be produced in large quantities, as the plants are strong, and of an excellent quality.

There is no doubt that the natives are of the same lineage with the other tribes who occupy the neighbouring islands, as far westward at least as the Fijees; of which their language and bodily conformation supply the most undoubted proof. Their complexion resembles the colour of dark copper; the women presenting a tint considerably lighter than that of the men. Some of the earlier navigators speak highly of their figure, as being a perfect model of symmetry in the human frame; but later travellers do not confirm this opinion, while it is admitted that the difference of stature is greater among them than in any other part of the world. They excel in the art of tattooing the body, the persons of some of their chiefs being covered all over with regular figures of the most tasteful patterns. It is to be regretted, at the same time, that they still labour under the horrible imputation of being cannibals, both when they feel inclined to glut their revenge after a battle, and also on certain occasions when superstition may seem to warrant the gratification of their unnatural appetite.

It is much to be regretted that the first European visiters did not teach them by example either forbearance or self-denial. When the squadron under Mendana approached the coast of the island, which he afterwards called Santa Christina, the natives, in their canoes or by swimming, presented themselves to the number of seventy at the side of his ships. As their manners were gentle and unobtrusive, the admiral resolved to send a boat ashore for the purpose of examining the new country to which fortune had carried him; and intrusting this duty to Manriquez, one of his officers, he waited the issue with some degree of anxiety. The Spaniard advanced with military music, hoping thereby to attract a greater degree of attention; but the inhabitants, alarmed,

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perhaps, at this unwonted display of power, did not stir from their houses till they were called, when about three hundred, men and women, obeyed the summons in the quietest manner. Being desired to bring water, they produced a small quantity in cocoa-nut shells, and likewise fruit of various kinds. The soldiers requiring more water, put into the hands of the ignorant savages several jars or pitchers which they had brought with the intention of procuring a supply of this necessary of life; and the simple people, either imagining that they were allowed to keep them, or yielding to the thievish propensity which persons in their primitive condition have been always found to manifest, carried away the coveted vessels. Manriquez ordered his men to fire upon them; a cruel and injudicious resolution to inflict a severe punishment where there was no real crime.

Three days afterwards, Mendana himself landed, having brought his squadron to anchor in the harbour. Mass was immediately celebrated on the shore; a spectacle which, though it arrested the attention of the natives, called not forth any observation, nor led to any movement on their part. The commander next proceeded to take formal possession of their island, in the name of the king,—a ceremony seldom omitted at that period; and, being desirous of establishing a friendly intercourse with them, he sowed some Indian corn wherever the soil seemed most likely to yield a suitable return. But he had no sooner retired to his ship than Manriquez found himself again involved in a dispute with the inhabitants. He opened upon them a fire of musketry, by which many of them were killed, and drove the remainder, with their wives and children, into the woods. This severe chastisement compelled them to make submission; and a more confidential communication being renewed, they at length separated, with a better opinion of each other's motives, if not with an entirely amicable feeling.

Captain Cook was the next discoverer who touched those remote shores. On the 7th April 1774, he reached

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Resolution Bay, or the Madre de Dios of Mendana, and was soon approached by a considerable number of canoes. Instinctive caution, or perhaps a traditionary fear of white men, kept them at some distance, notwithstanding the invitations of the English commander. At length the powerful eloquence of a valuable gift brought one of the skiffs under the quarter-gallery; the rest followed, and an active barter for provisions immediately commenced. It was remarked, however, that each canoe had in its bow a heap of stones, and every man a sling in his hand. Next day, their confidence was so well established, that a more ample supply of food was produced; but as they showed the usual disposition to cheat, a musket was fired over the head of an individual who seemed to encourage the others in their attempts at injustice. Unfortunately, upon an act of theft being detected, a shot was fired which proved fatal, and hence an immediate stop was put to all farther intercourse. The captain, desirous to remove the unfavourable impression produced by this accident, held an interview with the chiefs, who, receiving his explanation in good part, consented to the renewal of their traffic; but as the demand for trinkets and nails had been fully supplied, it became manifest to the foreigners that no beneficial trade could be carried on without a greater variety of commodities. They therefore left the Marquesas after a visit of only four days.

Passing over the brief visit of Le Marchand in 1784, we proceed to mention, that, in March 1792, the Dædalus store-ship, on her voyage from England to join Vancouver, arrived at Santa Christina, or, as it is not unusually denominated Ohittahoo. The commanding officer found the islanders as much addicted as before to appropriate whatever caught their fancy, and, in particular, every thing made of iron. They began by purloining the buoy of one of the anchors; but they considerately left a piece of wood in its stead, which enabled the crew to recover the anchor itself. The lieutenant went ashore, with four men, in search of water, on which occasion

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the natives stole the buckets, and even snatched a fowling-piece from his hands. On returning to his boat, moreover, he found that they had cut away the grapnel by which it was fastened. All this he endured with the greatest patience; and, on regaining his boat, he rowed close to the shore, and merely fired over their heads a volley of small arms, which so alarmed them, that they fled with the utmost precipitation to the woods, with the exception of one resolute individual, who, in defiance of their overwhelming strength, threw stones at the crew. Instead of shooting this hero, the English sailors, admiring his courage, allowed him to retire unmolested. At length, however, the Dædalus discharged a few cannon-shot over the village; upon which the terrified inhabitants fled in all directions to the hills, where they concealed themselves till night, when one of them swam off to the ship with a green bough wrapped in white cloth, which he threw on deck as a token of peace,—a consummation which was happily effected without the loss of a single life.

As a proof that the savages were in earnest, they joined the lieutenant next morning when he went to the watering-place, and, of their own accord, assisted him to fill the casks. The grapnel, the fowling-piece, and a theodolite which had been also stolen, were recovered after a little peaceful negotiation. It is true, at the same time, that a vigilant eye was necessary to prevent a repetition of similar freedoms, whenever a crowd was allowed to assemble on board; for the chiefs, who witnessed numerous attempts to abstract valuable property, wanted either authority or inclination to repress the marauders. But the Dædalus in due time departed, leaving on the minds of the people a favourable impression of the British character.*

In the year 1798, the Duff proceeded from Tongata-

* Maritime Discovery and Christian Missions considered in their mutual Relations. By John Campbell (8vo, Lond. 1840), p. 112. See also "Wilson's Voyage of the Dædalus," a work which contains many interesting details.

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boo to the Marquesas, with the view of planting missionaries in those islands. On the 5th June, the ship anchored in Resolution Bay, and next morning Captain Wilson received a visit from Tenae, a chief, who went on board prepared to exchange presents with the stranger. When the subject of settling two teachers in the country was mentioned, he seemed highly delighted, and declared that they should have a house, and a share of all he had. When the two brethren, Harris and Crook, landed, he conducted them to one of his best residences, intimating that it was at their service, and that they might occupy it as soon as they pleased. It was twenty-five feet long, six wide, ten feet high in the back part, and four in the front. At the corners, four stout stakes were driven into the earth, on which were laid horizontal pieces of wood, and from these last to the ground bamboos were neatly ranged in perpendicular order at a distance of about half an inch from each other, and in front of them were hung long blinds made of leaves. The furniture consisted of a mat stretched on the floor, several large calabashes, fishing-tackle, and a few spears.

Mr Crook was not discouraged by this appearance of things, which certainly did not promise much comfort; but his colleague, Harris, did not conceal his disappointment, nor his reluctance to enter upon his professional labour among such uncouth barbarians. It was manifest that he had become paralysed by fear, his ardour quenched, and his firmness shaken. He agreed, nevertheless, to make a trial; the captain assuring him that if he thought it unsafe to stay, and could show satisfactory reasons, he might return on board. After a week's deliberation, during which his courage seemed to gain no strength, he was "set on shore with all his things." A short experience convinced him that neither his bodily nor mental energies were equal to the task upon which he had entered. He expressed a deep disgust with the food and other matters; and one morning, a fisherman swam from the shore at break of day, to inform the captain that the frightened missionary had been on the beach all night,

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after being robbed of the greater part of his property. Mr Falconer, the third mate, who went to bring him off, found him in a most lamentable condition, and almost deprived of intellect.

The reasons which he gave for deserting in this pusillanimous manner the duty assigned to him, illustrate some of the features of society as it then existed at the Marquesas; but the particulars are so utterly void of delicacy that we cannot enter upon the recital, though given at length in the missionary narratives. At all events, Harris determined to leave a country the inhabitants of which were so utterly abandoned; while Crook, in the face of all difficulties, determined to remain, and make an attempt at least, by elevating their views, to improve their manners. His deportment on this occasion afforded much delight to every one on board the Duff, who anticipated the happiest results from the labours of a man who counted not his life dear to him, provided he could realize in any degree the benevolent object on which he had been sent. In the evening, he came on board with the chief to take leave, as the ship was to sail next morning; accordingly, after several articles were put into the canoe, all his countrymen affectionately bade him farewell. Even at this solemn parting, his manly feeling and christian resolution did not forsake him; tears glistened in his eyes, but none fell; nor did he betray the least sign of fear or reluctance to enter upon the perilous work unaided and alone.*

After persevering about twelve months without success, this zealous servant of the Society found it expedient to remove from the Marquesas. In 1821, a renewed attempt was contemplated; but the missionaries, two natives of Huaheine, who had been appointed to those islands, accompanied Mr Ellis to the Sandwich group, where they were ultimately detained. Accordingly, it was not till the beginning of 1825 that Mr Crook conducted thither three teachers from Otaheite, when

* Missionary Voyage, p. 128-143.

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several of the inhabitants, who had known him during his former residence, welcomed his return. The greater number, however, were still exceedingly vicious and disorderly in their conduct. After remaining about a month, and holding various conferences with the priests and other influential persons, he left the brethren, themselves natives of the Georgian Isles, to commence their arduous undertaking. Their prospects of success were at first rather encouraging in Santa Christina; but the wickedness of the people proved so atrocious, and their behaviour so offensive even to the Otaheitans, accustomed as they were to the immoral practice of savages, that they returned home in despair. They were succeeded by others, who were likewise obliged to leave in 1828. Next year, two Europeans proceeded to the same quarter, to ascertain the real condition of those unimprovable tribes, and the practicability of re-establishing a mission among them. After a careful examination of their social state and character, viewed in connexion with the scanty means supplied to them by the chiefs, they were obliged to conclude that the time for converting the barbarians of Ohittahoo had not yet arrived.

In 1831, Mr Darling, who sailed to the Marquesas in the Olive Branch, visited all the islands. Fatouiva or La Magdalena, being the most southern of the group, is usually the first seen by vessels approaching from the eastward. When the ship reached the north-western side of the island, a number of the natives came around her in canoes, from whom they learned that the inhabitants, who had been engaged in no war during two years, were still living in peace with one another. Encouraged by this account, they sent their boat on shore for supplies. Fanah, an individual who was born there, but had resided several years at Otaheite, and was believed to be a decided Christian, landed, in company with another Marquesan, to obtain more full intelligence as to the actual position of affairs, and the sentiments of the chiefs towards christian teachers. They soon returned on board taking with them the principal proprie-

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tor of that part of the coast on which the Olive Branch was anchored; who, being made acquainted with the object of their visit, had come to request that some of the missionaries might be stationed among his people. Finding that the inhabitants themselves concurred in this petition, promising to protect their instructors, to supply them with the means of support, and afford every facility in the prosecution of their good work, Mr Darling communicated this intelligence to the brethren, two of whom agreed at once to remain on the island. Towards the evening of the same day, after a suitable address, they were recommended to God in the presence of the chief and his followers, who had gone on board for the purpose of witnessing this ceremony; and having received from the presiding minister a testimonial, certifying that they were stationed there as christian teachers by the missionaries in Otaheite, they affectionately took leave, carrying with them a few articles of clothing, books, and tools. On the shore they found the people assembled waiting their arrival; to whom Fanah explained the object which their visiters had in view, and recommended them to their most favourable regards. Upon performing this duty, he himself returned on board, and the vessel proceeded to the other islands, where similar duties were to be performed.*

Mr Darling found that at Ouapoa or Trevennien's Island, where missionaries were stationed in the year 1828, little progress had been made; on which account, he removed the sole survivor, whose health and spirits had undergone an unfavourable change. The teachers

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* Missionary Records, Tahiti, p. 296. In reference to the ferocity of the people, it is said by this author, " however reluctant we may have been to admit the cannibalism of any of the Polynesian tribes, the testimony of foreigners of every nation by whom the Marquesans have been visited, and of the native teachers from the Society Islands, who have resided long among them, forces upon us the belief, that they perpetrate this unnatural crime to as great an extent, and under circumstances as aggravating, as it has been met with among any portion of mankind."

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left at Santa Christina, owing to the adverse circumstances already mentioned, have since retired, but those at La Magdalena resolved to remain; and though at times surrounded by war and exposed to many perils, they refused to leave their station, hoping ultimately to accomplish their important object. But the ferocity of the natives, their unsatiable desire of firearms and ammunition, their love of war, its sanguinary character, and the inhuman practice with which it is usually concluded; their inveterate attachment to a system which sanctions every vice and cruelty; and, above all, their abominable licentiousness and inconstancy of disposition, presented an almost insuperable bar to their success. Still it is a singular fact, that the chiefs of all the islands expressed a desire that white men should reside among them as religious instructors. The attention of the London Missionary Society has been repeatedly directed to the deplorable state of the whole Marquesan group. They were visited in 1833 by a deputation of Americans from the Sandwich Islands, who succeeded in establishing a mission in the northern cluster; but owing to obstructions of the same nature as those just mentioned, they were compelled to discontinue their labours the following year.

The latest accounts communicated to the public, relative to the isles of Mendana, are contained in a diary kept by Mr Bennett, surgeon of the Tuscan whaler, which completed a voyage round the world in the year 1836. The population of Santa Christina was then estimated at 1400 persons, whose appearance was robust and healthy, with handsome features. Each valley was under the dominion of a separate chief, who maintained a feudal independence. The natives, who had for some time enjoyed profound peace, are described as being generally honest and well-behaved, trading with the English officers on a very amicable footing. The author remarks, however, that vigilance is quite indispensable, as they are extremely capricious, and capable of the greatest outrages when least suspected.

Two missionaries conveyed by the Tuscan from Eng-

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land were settled in the valley opening upon Resolution Bay, with some prospect of comfort and usefulness. They found, indeed, but little encouragement in the disposition of the natives, who, though they abolished open idolatry, retained the greater part of their heathen customs and prejudices. Eutiti, the principal ruler of the district, is a shrewd avaricious person, eager to encourage the resort of shipping to his ports, because, by means of the traffic, he acquires such munitions of war as enable him to maintain a considerable influence over the other chiefs. Viewed as the patron of christian teachers, he is regarded by our countrymen with respect, however dark or questionable his motives may appear.*

Captain Waldegrave, of her majesty's ship Seringapatam, had previously visited Noukahiva or Martin Island, which he describes as being of volcanic origin, and possessing a fertile soil. With regard to the bodily qualities of the natives, so much extolled by Cook and other navigators, he expresses great disappointment. The men, with few exceptions, were below five feet ten inches in height, and averaged about five feet six or seven, with stout muscular arms and chests, long backs, short thighs, long but rather small legs: the women were short, walked awkwardly, with long backs and short limbs, the majority being under five feet two inches. All of them appeared very indolent except when employed by the English crew, nature providing for them most liberally without the pain of labour. During the day, they sat collected in groups, either in their huts, or under the shadow of trees, but more frequently sleeping than talking. This idleness is not incompatible with the spirit of a warlike people, who, when the hour of danger comes, are easily roused to the most violent exertion. They are proud of displaying their wounds; and the marks of musket-balls were observed on the bodies of many of them. Their greatest delight is to mimic the movements and stratagems of

* Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London, vol. vii. p. 223.

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war, showing how they attack the enemy, oppose and traverse their tactics.

It was remarked by the officers when ashore, that the old men appeared much stronger than the present race. Whilst exploring the hills, the natives squatted twenty times in an hour to take rest, though the English sailors felt no fatigue. This degeneracy is supposed to arise from the general relaxation of morals, and more especially from early licentiousness; contrasting in a striking manner with the vigour displayed by the people of Pitcairn's Island, who are remarkable for their virtuous mode of living. There the men were seen to carry up or down a cliff a cask containing fourteen gallons of water; no weight was found too great, and no labour tired them. The women also were tall, well-shaped, modest, civil, and retiring.*

The Low Archipelago presents fewer points, either in its history or present condition, to arrest the attention of the philanthropist than may be found in the islands situated more to the leeward. The inhabited spots which compose it lie between the parallels of 14° and 26° south latitude, and between long. 130° and 145° W. They are exceedingly numerous, and probably many still remain undiscovered; they are nearly all of coral formation, and consist of narrow stripes of that rock, generally describing a circular figure, and enclosing a lagoon, in many instances of great depth. These edges or borders rarely exceed an elevation of ten feet above the sea, and half a mile in breadth. The eastern side is universally the most complete in its formation, and covered with shrubs or small trees; a fact owing to the westerly current caused by the trade-wind, which deposits all floating substances on that side, including a variety of seeds carried, it is probable, from a great dis-

* Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. iii. p. 170. Captain Waldegrave states that he saw a double canoe which measured twenty of his steps, and was capable of carrying sixty men. "At one end were two skulls and two war clubs, and some shells were fastened to the canoe." He saw no temple or place of worship, nor any signs of religious usage.

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tance. Salas Rock, Pitcairn's Island, and Gambier's Group are decidedly volcanic; and it may be presumed that the same convulsions of nature have given to the little zoophyte, or saxigenous polypus, a foundation on which to erect his stupendous structure. One island, called Elizabeth, which has attained a height of seventy or eighty feet, is composed of compact coral, and well covered with vegetation suitable to the meagre soil by which it is supported. It has, however, no lagoon, a circumstance which is considered rare in that class of formations.

This archipelago is distinguished by the appellation of "Dangerous," an epithet which has not without reason been applied to the group. The surf, breaking violently over the walls which surround them, is the best safeguard for ships; in the night it may be heard at the distance of six or eight miles, and by day it is frequently seen before the islands themselves are visible. In many instances, not more than five hundred yards from the reef, the ocean is so deep as to be beyond the reach of line or plummet. The western sides, as already noticed, being less completely formed, occasionally present openings wide enough to receive vessels of the largest size into the central lagoons, which are usually found to be safe harbours. All of them are situated within the range of the south-east trade-wind; but in the winter months they are exposed to frequent and heavy gales from the westward. Many are inhabited, but evidently not by the same race. Canoes drifted from the Society Isles have been the means of peopling some, and the occasional visits of European missionaries have conveyed to them the principles of religion, together with a tincture of civilisation.*

The islands which are distinguished by the name of

* In Captain Beechey's Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Behring's Straits, vol. i. p. 137-267, are many interesting notices respecting thirty-two islands in the Low Archipelago visited by himself. See, at p. 256, the question discussed as to the original inhabitants of the whole group.

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Gambier, and which were discovered by Captain Wilson of the Duff, may be described as comparatively hilly, because most of the others do not rise more than three feet above the level of the sea at high water. Among those best known to navigators may be included the Crescent Isle, the Harp, the Chain, the Bow, appellations which they have received from the supposed resemblance to these objects. A few are thought to be increasing in size, while the greater part seem destined never to ascend above the surface of the waves by which they are constantly washed. But numbers are to be seen in every stage of their progress; some exhibiting little more than the point or summit of a coral-line pyramid, at a depth scarcely discernible through the transparent waters; others spreading like submarine gardens beneath the surface; while a third class ascend, like long curved banks of sand, broken coral, or shells, two or three feet above the water, clothed with a partial vegetation, and bent occasionally into the shape of a horse-shoe. The whole archipelago is known to the natives of Otaheite by the designation of Paumotus; a term which is also applied by them to the inhabitants.

It is stated by Mr Ellis, that in the early part of the reign of Pomare the Second, the calamities of war had driven many of those miserable people to seek security in the Georgian Islands. They were at once protected and maintained by that meritorious ruler; and hence, when his own subjects renounced idolatry, they required little argument to induce them to follow this example. They not only cast away their gods, but also accepted instruction from the missionaries. In 1817, many of them returned home, accompanied by Moorea, one of their countrymen, who was much esteemed for his piety, and had learned to read. On reaching Anaa, or Chain Island, the place of his birth, he taught with so much success that, with the exception of a small district, all the inhabitants agreed to renounce heathenism. At a later period, about four hundred of them sailed to Otaheite for books and farther instruction. These dauntless persons, who, in

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order to gratify their desire for knowledge, had traversed in their frail vessels a distance of three hundred miles, carried with them the pleasing intelligence that their kinsmen were eager to receive Christianity, that they were building places of worship at several stations, and that they had discontinued the practice of cannibalism, as well as many other atrocities incident to their unconverted state. Besides the small library of which they came in quest, they were supplied with ministers and teachers, including their zealous friend Moorea, who, in the mean time, had been raised by the brethren at Wilks' Harbour to the higher office of minister.

Mr Crook, whose exertions have been already so favourably noticed, visited Chain Island in 1825, which he found overwhelmed with desolation, occasioned by a most furious tempest. He was gratified by learning that the gospel had been received in other parts of the archipelago, and that though the faith of some professors had faltered, the great body of believers continued steadfast in their principles. It is no doubt acknowledged, that while the influence of Christianity had proved most efficacious in softening the barbarous character of the people, their savage dispositions were still occasionally manifested. Desirous to propagate the new religion, they had sent two native teachers to Amanu; but these had no sooner begun their exhortations, and enjoined abstinence from the gross sins which every where prevailed, than they were attacked, their wives killed, and themselves compelled to seek safety in a precipitate flight. One of the women thus murdered was a daughter of the chief of Anaa; and the intelligence so enraged her countrymen, that, forgetting the principles of forbearance inculcated by Christianity, they fitted out a fleet, proceeded to the guilty island, and punished a number of the inhabitants with death.*

Alluding to the natives of the Gambier cluster, a navigator observes that, like the generality of uncivilized

* Polynesian Researches, vol. iii. p. 306.

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people, they are good-natured when pleased, and harmless when not irritated; obsequious when inferior in force, and overbearing when they have the upper-hand. In features, language, and customs, they resemble the Society, Friendly, and Sandwich Islanders; but they differ from these tribes in being much more exemplary in their manners, as well as in their intercourse with one another. The captain of the Blossom mentions to their honour, that during the whole time he was amongst them, he did not witness "an indecent act or gesture." They display so great a mixture of feature and colour as to give some probability to the conjecture, that several tribes from remote parts of the Pacific had here met and mingled their peculiarities. Their language and religion are closely allied to those of several other small nations; yet they differ essentially from all the tribes in having no huge carved images surmounting their marais, and no fiatookas or wattas. Unlike them also they are deficient in canoes, though they have the means of constructing them; they have neither clubs, slings, nor bows; and they do not present in their persons those marks of mutilation which some others deem indispensable on the death of their relations, or when they wish to appease their offended deities. While they are for the most part fairer and handsomer than the Sandwich Islanders, they are less effeminate than the Otaheitans. In general they have a fine Asiatic countenance with mustachios and beards; and when their heads are covered with a roll of white cloth, they might pass for Moors.*

On the island to which Captain Beechey gave the name of Byam Martin, he discovered about forty individuals, natives of Otaheite, who, having undergone shipwreck, found there a place of rest and comparative safety. They

* Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Behring's Straits, vol. i. p. 187. Captain Beechey remarks, that the average height of them is above that of Englishmen, but they are not so robust. In their muscles there is a flabbiness and laxity of integument which allows the skin to hang in folds on the body.

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all entreated him to carry them in his vessel to their own land; a favour which he agreed to confer on a man who appeared the most intelligent of their number, and who with his wife and children was allowed to embark in the Blossom. "We soon discovered," says the commander, "that our little colony were Christians; they took an early opportunity of convincing us of this, and that they had both Testaments and hymn-books printed in the Otaheitan language; they also showed us a black-lead pencil and other materials for writing. Some of the girls repeated hymns, and the greater part evinced a reverence and respect for the sacred books, which reflects much credit upon the missionaries, under whose care we could no longer doubt they had at one time been.*

Tuwarri, the person selected by the British officer as a passenger on board his ship, met with a brother at Bow Island, where he appears to have been employed in the pearl-fishery. An incident is here mentioned which proves in a pleasing manner the happy effects of true religion even on the least cultivated minds. Another native of Anaa, a missionary, who is described as a very well-behaved man, used every effort to convert his new acquaintances to Christianity. He persevered amidst much silent ridicule, and at length succeeded in persuading the greater part of the islanders to conform to the observances enjoined by the gospel. It was interesting to contemplate a body of savages abandoning their superstitions, reverently kneeling down upon the sandy shore, and joining in the morning and evening prayers to the Almighty. At this period there were at Anaa no fewer than thirteen houses of prayer, under the direction of indigenous teachers, men who themselves, a little while before, indulged in all the superstitious usages of a most degrading idolatry.

It is stated, that previously to the arrival of the sedulous teacher now mentioned, every one had his peculiar deity, of which the most common was a piece of

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* Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Behring's Straits, &c. vol. i. p. 223.

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wood with a tuft of human hair stuck into it; but that which was deemed most efficacious was the thigh bone of an enemy, or even of a friend recently dead. Into the hollow of this remnant of mortality they inserted a lock of the same person's hair, and then suspended the idol to a tree. To these symbols, as long as they remained in favour, they addressed their prayers; but their piety, having no fixed basis, continued not steady either in regard to its object or the manner of its expression. So soon as they doubted the power of their god, or his inclination to favour them, they cast him away and substituted another not less ridiculous.

As Bow Island is one of the largest in the archipelago, and affords distinct indications of the manner in which such formations are accomplished, the reader may find some instruction in the following details. It will be recollected, that, like all the others in that region of the Pacific, it has a lagoon in the centre surrounded by a stripe of low land about seventy miles in extent, the part which is dry being about a quarter of a mile in width. On the inner side, a few yards from the margin of the lake, there is a bank consisting of finely broken coral; and at the outer edge, a much higher bank of large blocks of the same material, long since removed from the reach of the waves, and gradually preparing for the usual process of vegetation. Beyond this high bank there is a third ridge similar to that which skirts the lagoon; and outside of it again, as well as in the lagoon, there is a wide shelf, three or four feet under water, the outer one bearing upon its surface huge masses of broken coral; the materials for an outer bank similar to the one just described. These appearances naturally suggest the idea that the island must have risen by slow degrees. Thus the sand dispersed over the lagoon indicates a period when the sea rolled entirely over the reef, tore up blocks of coral from its margin, and by constant friction ground them to powder, and finally deposited the particles where they now rest. The bank near the lake must have originated at a subsequent period, when the

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outer edge, rising nearer to the surface, moderated the strength of the waves, and the wash of the sea reached only far enough to deposit the broken coral in the place described. At a still less distant period, when the island became dry, and the violence of the sea was wholly spent upon its margin, the coral, which had before escaped by being beneath the surface, gave way to the impetuous surge, and was deposited in broken masses which formed the high ridge. Here the sea appears to have dashed a considerable time, until a second ledge gradually extending seaward, and approaching the surface, so lessened the effect of the waves upon this ledge also, that they were again only capable of throwing up an inferior heap similar to the one first mentioned. In process of time, this outer ledge will become dry, and the many large blocks of coral, now resting near its margin, will probably form another heap similar to the large one ; and thus the island will continue to increase by a succession of ledges being brought to the surface, while, by the same process, the lagoon will gradually become more shallow and contracted.

The islands between the Low Archipelago and Otaheite are all of the same geological structure as those already described, and present to the naturalist no information beyond that which respects their position and extent. It is highly probable that ships sailing in a direct line south-eastward from Pitcairn Isle to the Strait of Magellan, would make many discoveries ; for it is very unlikely that the process which has filled the Pacific with insular groups, throughout a space of eight thousand miles from the Malayan peninsula to Easter Island, shall be found to stop entirely at the latter point. Navigators who enter the South Sea by the way of Cape Horn, usually ascend at once to a higher latitude, as well to avoid the storms which agitate that parallel as to seek supplies or the means of repairing their losses. Hence it may be asserted, that no portion of the great ocean which covers nearly the whole of the southern hemisphere has been less carefully explored than between lat-

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30° and 50° S., and long. 80° and 130° W.,—the field, it may be presumed, of a great volcanic action, which is destined hereafter to form the basis of new lands.

As Pitcairn's Island properly belongs to the Paumotus, or Coral Archipelago, now described, we must not pass on without noticing its interesting history. This remarkable spot of land, which is situated in lat. 25° S., and long. 130° W., is supposed to have been seen by Quiros, and named by him Incarnation. In 1767, it was again mentioned by Carteret, who found it still uninhabited, and, owing to the want of harbours, almost quite inaccessible. All the interest connected with it, even at present, arises from its having been selected by a few individuals engaged in the mutiny on board the Bounty, as a place so remote from the ordinary path of navigation as to afford a secure asylum from the vengeance of the law which they had violated. Distracted by personal animosities, they left the island of Toobouai, where they had meant to establish themselves, and, after landing sixteen of their number at Otaheite, the remainder, amounting to nine, together with seven men and twelve women, who joined them at Matavai Bay, put to sea, directing their course towards the east.

This departure took place in September 1789, and nearly twenty years elapsed before the fate of the adventurers was made known in Europe. The first notice respecting them was communicated to the Admiralty, in May 1809, by Sir Sidney Smith, who had received intelligence from Valparaiso to the following effect:—Captain Folger, of the American ship Topaz, relates that, upon landing on Pitcairn's Island, he found there an Englishman of the name of Alexander Smith, the only person remaining of nine who escaped in his majesty's late ship Bounty. Smith states that, after putting Captain Bligh in the boat, Christian, the leader of the mutiny, took command of the ship, and went to Otaheite. Sailing thence, they reached their present residence in the course of the following year, where they ran the ship ashore and broke her up.

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No step appears to have been taken in consequence of this discovery, and five more years had passed away before additional particulars were obtained through the medium of two naval officers, Sir Thomas Staines and Captain Pipon, commanding respectively the Briton and the Tagus. In a letter to the government, the former details the circumstances which led to his discovery of the island, the actual position of which was found to be nearly two hundred miles farther east than it was marked in the charts of those days. The captain, in a private communication, enters into fuller details, and expresses the surprise they experienced when, on approaching the land, they saw a few huts neatly built amidst plantations laid out with order and regularity. This convinced them that it could not be Pitcairn's Island, because it had always been described by navigators as uninhabited. Presently they observed a few natives coming down a steep descent, with their canoes on their shoulders; and in a few minutes perceived one of these little vessels darting through a heavy surf, and paddling towards the ship; but their astonishment was extreme when, on coming alongside, they were hailed in the English language, "wo'n't you heave us a rope now!"

A young man, who sprung with extraordinary alacrity on board, upon being asked who he was, replied, that he was Thursday October Christian, son of the late Fletcher Christian, by an Otaheitan mother; that he was the first person born on the island, and that he was so called because he was brought into the world on a Thursday in October. He soon satisfied the two officers that he was the individual he represented himself to be, and that he was fully acquainted with the memorable history of the Bounty. At this time he was about twenty-four years of age, fully six feet high, with dark hair, and an open, extremely interesting countenance. As he wore no covering except a piece of cloth round his loins, and a straw hat ornamented with black feathers, his fine figure and muscular limbs were dis-

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played to the greatest advantage. His body was much tanned by exposure to the weather, and his countenance had a brownish cast, unmixed, however, with that tinge of red so common among the natives of the Pacific islands. Added to a great share of good humour, they were glad to trace in his benevolent countenance all the features of an honest English face. The ingenuous manner in which he answered all questions put to him, created a lively interest among the officers, who could not but regard him with feelings of tenderness and compassion; his manner, too, of speaking English, was exceedingly pleasing, and correct both in grammar and pronunciation. He was accompanied by a companion, a handsome youth of seventeen or eighteen years of age, named George Young, son of the unfortunate midshipman. When Sir Thomas Staines took them below, and set before them something to eat, they both rose up, and one of them placing his hands together in a posture of devotion, asked a blessing on what they were about to receive. They were, it may well be imagined, not a little surprised at the sight of so many novel objects, the size of the ships, of the guns, and every thing around them. Observing a cow, they were at first somewhat alarmed, and expressed a doubt whether it was a huge goat or a horned hog, these being the only two species of quadrupeds they had ever seen. A little dog amused them much. "O what a pretty little thing it is," exclaimed Young. "I know it is a dog, for I have heard of such an animal." They informed the commander of many singular events which had taken place among the first settlers, but referred them for farther particulars to an old man on shore, whose name, they said, was John Adams, the only surviving Englishman that came away in the Bounty, at which time he was called Alexander Smith.*

Adams, upon receiving a visit from Sir Thomas and Captain Pipon, showed some apprehension that they

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* The Eventful History of the Mutiny and Piratical Seizure of H. M. S. Bounty; its cause and consequences, 12mo, pp. 289, 290. London, 1831.

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should carry him away a prisoner for his share in the mutiny. They soon, however, set his mind at ease; observing, that although in the eye of the law they could only consider him in the light of a criminal of the deepest dye, yet it would have been an act of the greatest cruelty to have taken him away from his little family, who, in such a case, would have been left to experience the utmost misery and distress, and ultimately perhaps to perish of want. The interesting little colony was now found to contain forty-six individuals, including a few infants. Their personal attractions, which were great, excited less admiration than their virtuous conduct. The officers were assured that not one instance of immorality had occurred among the young people since their settlement in the island. Their native modesty, aided by the precepts of religion, had hitherto preserved them from any approach to irregularity. The young women told Captain Pipon with much simplicity, that they were not married, and that their father, as they called Adams, had told them it was right they should wait with patience till they had acquired sufficient property to bring up a young family, before they thought of marrying; and that they always followed his advice, because they knew it to be good. "But what delighted us most," says the same officer, "was the conviction which John Adams had impressed on the minds of these young people of the propriety and necessity of returning thanks to the Almighty for the many blessings they enjoy. They never omit saying grace before and after meals, and never think of touching food without asking a blessing from him who gave it. The Lord's prayer and the creed they repeat morning and evening."*

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* Captain Beechey (vol. i. p. 104) remarks, that "one interruption only disturbed our first sleep; it was the pleasing melody of the evening hymn, which, after the lights were out, was chanted by the whole family in the middle of the room. In the morning also we were awoke by their morning hymn and family devotion."

The Honourable Captain Waldegrave, who was there in 1830,

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In the year 1817, when the condition of the exiles in Pitcairn's Island was made known to the directors in London, the Missionary Society sent for their use a large supply of Bibles, Testaments, and Prayer-books, which were duly acknowledged by John Adams. To these were added some elementary treatises for the education of the young, to whose respectability and comfort such training was indispensable. Some time before the arrival of Captain Beechey, a whaler had touched at the island, and left a person named John Buffet. In this man they fortunately found an able and willing schoolmaster; for being captivated by the behaviour of the people, he resolved to live among them. His mind, naturally serious and devout, urged him to undertake a still more important duty. Besides teaching the children, he regularly performed the offices of a minister, in conjunction with Adams, who, though illiterate, had felt himself bound to assume the patriarchal functions of priest and expounder at the head of his large family. The English officers attended divine service one Sunday, a weekly festival which is kept holy with greater strictness than in more civilized parts of the world. It is devoted entirely to prayer, reading, and serious meditation. No boat is allowed to quit the shore, nor any work

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says, "I never was so forcibly impressed with the blessings of a liturgy as I was at Pitcairn's Island. Adams, the patriarch, could read, but, until the latter days of his life, he could not write; yet, after the slaughter of his shipmates and the Otaheitan men, he reared up all the children in the fear of God, through the instrumentality of the Bible and Prayer-book. He could not compose prayers, but he could read them to the little assembled flock; he read those beautiful prayers found in the Prayer-book of the Church of England; from it also he taught the catechism, the commandments, and all the christian duties. So strongly attached are they to this service, that no dissenting minister could be admitted; they draw from it as the well-spring of life, and will not obtain water from any other source."

"John Adams died in March 1829. During his life, all obeyed him as a parent.—'Father' was his only title. Shortly before his death, he called the heads of families together, and urged them to appoint a chief; but they looked up to him whilst living, and have appointed none since his death."—*Journal of Royal Geographical Society*, vol. iii. p. 161.

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to be done, cooking excepted, for which preparation is made the preceding evening. At church the prayers were read by Adams, and the lessons by Buffet, the service being preceded by the singing of hymns. The greatest devotion was apparent in every individual, and in the children there was a seriousness unknown to the younger part of our congregations at home. In the course of the litany, they prayed for their sovereign and all the royal family, with much apparent earnestness. Some special appeals to heaven, which were thought appropriate to their particular case, were added to the usual service; and the venerable father, lest he should leave out any thing essential, read several of those occasional forms directed to be used at certain times and seasons. A sermon followed, which was very well delivered by Buffet; and in order that no part of it should escape attention or be forgotten, it was read three times. The whole concluded with hymns, which were first sung by the grown people, and then by the children. About half an hour afterwards, they again assembled for prayers, which were once more repeated at sunset; so that, with their morning and evening service, they may be said to have church five times on Sunday.

Their number, when visited by Captain Beechey in 1825, was estimated at sixty-six. In 1831, when removed, at their own desire, to Otaheite, they had increased to eighty-seven; and such, indeed, was the progress of the population, that it must very soon outgrow the means of subsistence. It is perhaps to this cause, implying the necessity of successive emigrations, that we must ascribe the fact of several small isles, which were at one time peopled, being found without inhabitants. This remark is applicable to Easter Island as well as to the one selected by Christian and his remnant of mutineers. At both places colossal figures were found, as well as the ruins of marais, the tombs and temples of the Pacific; and though these relics indicate no progress in the arts, they prove the existence of tribes in places where they are no longer seen. Had the exiles from

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Pitcairn's Island enjoyed comfort in Otaheite, the phenomenon of an entire desertion, the complete exode of a whole nation, would have been again repeated.

Southward of the Society Isles lies a group to which, from a reference to their position, the epithet Austral has been applied by a distinguished geographer. They are situated between lat. 23°—28° S., and long. 144°—148° W.; are five in number, and supposed to contain about 4000 inhabitants. Rapa, the most distant from the equator, was observed by Vancouver in December 1791, on his passage from New Zealand to Otaheite. It is about twenty miles in circumference, mountainous, but, at the same time, abundantly supplied with wood and water. Aurai, its principal harbour, is on the eastern side, having an extensive accommodation for shipping, though the entrance is rather narrow and intricate. Mr Ellis, who approached this island in 1817, describes it as presenting, in its higher parts, rather a barren aspect; but adds, that the lower eminences, with many of the valleys, were covered with verdure, trees, and bushes. As Rapa is not surrounded with a reef, the waves of the ocean dash against the base of the hills, and hence there is hardly any land skirting the shore. The inhabitants bear a greater resemblance to the Otaheitans than to the natives of New Zealand, though their language presents a closer affinity to that of the latter people. Their complexion is of the usual copper colour; their features regular; and their countenances, which are in many cases handsome, are shaded with dark hair, both straight and curling. But they were, at the period now mentioned, most savage creatures, fierce and suspicious; their behaviour being as unceremonious as their appearance was uninviting. Vancouver found them unusually shy at first, but afterwards very bold and thievish; and, as a singular trait in their manners, it is worthy of remark, that though his ship was surrounded by not fewer than three hundred of them, there were neither young children, women, nor aged persons in any of their canoes.

In the year 1825, a vessel belonging to an Otaheitan

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chief touched at Rapa, and carried thence two natives. Being well received at Papara, where Mr Davies the missionary presided, they consented to attend church and go to school. After a brief space, they were sent home loaded with gifts, and, accompanied by two individuals, who were desired to collect information relative to the country and the character of its inhabitants. The result of this visit was extremely satisfactory; a trade in sandal-wood was forthwith opened; and the deputies from Otaheite were assured, that any proposals for a friendly intercourse would be met with corresponding feelings. In the beginning of the following year, accordingly, two teachers and their wives, with a schoolmaster and a mechanic, sailed for Rapa; carrying thither spelling-books, copies of the Scriptures, and a variety of useful tools, seeds, plants, and timber for a chapel. They were received by the chiefs with respect and hospitality; but, though these last promised protection, and even assistance in erecting a place of worship, they gave no encouragement as to a speedy reception of the gospel. Their intercourse, however, with the more civilized people of the Georgian Isles, not only increased their sources of temporal enjoyment, it also, sooner than they expected, proved the means of introducing Christianity amongst them, and of raising many to a participation in its spiritual blessings. Before the close of 1829, four chapels were erected at different stations, in which, by means of native missionaries, religious instruction was regularly given to attentive audiences.

About six degrees to the north-west of Rapa stands Raivavai, or High Island, which was discovered by Lieutenant Broughton of the Chatham, in the year 1791. The inhabitants, who have a great resemblance to the other South Sea Islanders in most of their usages, are esteemed less cruel, and, in some respects, more ingenious. Infanticide is said to have been unknown amongst them; and there is no evidence that, though strongly addicted to idolatry, they ever stained their hands with human sacrifices. Pomare, who considered the island as

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subject to his dominion, sailed thither in 1819, on board an American trader; and he had no sooner presented himself than the people tendered their homage, and solicited his protection. About two years afterwards, Mr Henry, son of one of the missionaries, who commanded a small vessel belonging to the King of Otaheite, arrived at High Island on Sunday, when the converts were about to assemble for divine worship. The congregation consisted of seven hundred persons; and each individual, on entering the church, kneeled down, and uttered a short prayer. The stranger was much delighted with the quiet, devout, and orderly manner in which they conducted themselves at service, as well as during the remainder of the Lord's-day.*

The open renunciation of idolatry had been effected a short time previously; nearly all the inhabitants having declared themselves desirous of christian instruction. Most of their former objects of worship had been removed from the temples, and some of those mutilated stone figures were actually converted into seats at the doors of the missionary chapel. In 1822, suitable teachers from Eimeo were stationed in the island, who showed the utmost diligence in promoting the improvement of the people. Three years later, two large places were erected for public worship, one of which was capable of containing three hundred persons, and, at its opening, witnessed the administration of baptism to more than fifty adults, besides sixty children. Mr Davies, in 1826, organized a regular church, when sixteen individuals, after due examination, were united in christian fellowship with the brethren, who had resided some time amongst them. But three years afterwards, an epidemic, in the form of a malignant fever, swept away a large portion of the inhabitants, including twelve of their instructors.

Another island of the group which lays claim to our attention is Toobouai, which is situated in lat. 23° 30′ S. and long. 149° 20′ W. being about twelve miles in cir-

* Polynesian Researches, vol. iii. p. 375.

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cumference. It was discovered by Cook in the course of his third voyage, and has obtained a certain celebrity from being the first place at which the mutineers touched after having taken possession of the Bounty. It was subsequently approached by the Duff, the crew of which, in February 1797, saw it at the distance of thirty miles, just as the shades of night were about to veil its scenery and inhabitants from their eyes. It is supposed to have been but recently peopled by the natives of a neighbouring island, who, when sailing to some other quarter, were driven thither by a violent gale.

The author of the Researches, who landed at Toobouai in the year 1817, describes it as hilly and verdant; and being surrounded by a coral reef, is well protected from the pressure of the heavy waves which roll in that latitude. The population appeared but small, and their means did not seem equal to the maintenance of a greatly increased number: only one pig was taken on board, a proof that their stock of provisions was not ample. Mr Ellis mentions, that the day after their arrival two or three men belonging to the Low Archipelago came on board the vessel, and asked the captain for a passage to Otaheite. Upon his inquiring their purpose, they replied that, some weeks before, they had left that island to return to their native place, but, being drifted by contrary winds out of their course, they ultimately reached Toobouai; that shortly after they landed, the inhabitants fiercely attacked them, seized their property, and broke their canoe; and that they now wished to acquaint Pomare with their misfortune, who, they hoped, as sovereign of both countries, would command a full indemnification of their losses, and by supplying another boat, enable them to realize their first intentions. Two Europeans, who were on the island at the time, reported that they were very peaceable, and that the Toobouans had commenced the attack, because the strangers tried to persuade them to cast away their idols and believe in Jehovah, the only true God. Being asked why they did not resist the onset, and whether they were averse

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to war, they answered that they were taught to delight in battles, and were not at all afraid of the people among whom they had been cast. But, they added, when at Otaheite they had embraced the new religion, which taught them to do no murder, and even to love their enemies; wherefore they thought it better to lose their canoe and all their goods than to offend God by killing the assailants, or to disregard the injunctions of Jesus Christ. Being afterwards provided with a skiff, they returned for their companions, and finally completed their voyage, by debarking at the island whence they originally departed.

The inhabitants of Toobouai, who appear to have first heard of the gospel from these casual visiters, were at no distant period incited to make inquiry for themselves respecting its sublime doctrines and cheering consolations. In 1822, they sent messengers to Otaheite to request books and instructors. Their wishes were complied with; two native teachers were selected for that new province of evangelical labour; and Mr Nott accompanied them in order that he might preach to the converts, and make the necessary arrangements for future ministrations. The first fruits of this mission appeared in the reconciliation of two chiefs, who had actually taken the field to decide their quarrel in a fierce combat. On the following morning, they all attended public worship in a building erected for the purpose, where they heard a sermon on christian principle, duty, and hope. "It was truly gratifying to behold those who had only the day before expected to have been engaged in shedding each other's blood, now mingled in one quiet and attentive assembly, where the warriors of rival chieftains might be seen sitting side by side, listening to the gospel of peace." But here, as elsewhere, the prospects of the teachers were not fully realized. A certain reaction usually followed the introduction of the new faith in most of the islands, originating, it has been supposed, in public distress, which was not unnaturally ascribed to the anger of the gods whose service had been abandoned.

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About the period in question, a fatal epidemic prevailed throughout the whole Archipelago, and swept off many of the people. The missionaries continued their labours, and the effects of the pestilence gradually disappeared; but it was remarked in 1829, when they were visited by a deputation from Otaheite, that although the industry of the inhabitants and their advancement in civilisation were gratifying, their progress in learning was but small, and the ignorance or stupidity of the children discouraging. Less attention, too, was paid to the teachers than formerly; and a considerable agitation prevailed, owing to the unpopular nature of some laws transmitted by King Pomare, and the want of decision in the persons vested with local authority.*

* This island, it is remarked in the text, derived some celebrity from being the temporary retreat of the mutineers who seized the Bounty. The verses composed by Lord Byron in reference to the unfortunate Fletcher Christian and his companions in guilt are well known, and have been frequently quoted; still, being not only beautiful in themselves, but appropriate to the occasion, we hesitate not to transcribe a small portion. The poem from which the extract is made is entitled, "The Island, or Christian and his Comrades."

"Young hearts, which languish'd for some sunny isle,
Where summer years and summer women smile;
Men without country, who, too long estranged,
Had found no native home, or found it changed,
And, half uncivilized, preferr'd the cave
Of some soft savage to the uncertain wave—
The gushing fruits that nature gave untill'd;
The wood without a path but where they will'd;
The field o'er which promiscuous Plenty pour'd
Her horn; the equal land without a lord;
The wish—which ages have not yet subdued
In man—to have no master save his mood;
The earth, whose mine was on its face, unsold,
The glowing sun and produce all its gold;
The freedom which can call each grot a home;
The general garden, where all steps may roam,
Where Nature owns a nation as her child,
Exulting in the enjoyment of the wild;
Their shells, their fruits, the only wealth they know,
Their unexploring navy, the canoe;
Their sport, the dashing breakers and the chase;
Their strangest sight an European face:—

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Rurutoo, another member of the same group, is worthy of a place in the annals of missionary labours, as being the scene of a great triumph gained by the spirit of truth and civilisation over error and barbarism. This island was discovered by Captain Cook, who describes it under the native appellation of Oheteroa, and is situated in lat. 22° 27′ S. and long. 150° 47′ W. It is clearly of volcanic origin, presenting a mountainous surface, beautifully diversified, with a stripe of land along the beach, which is protected by a continuous reef of coral. The conversion of the inhabitants is ascribed to a contagious disease with which they were visited in the year 1820. Their number being reduced by its ravages to about two hundred, Anura, a young chief, resolved to seek a prolongation of life by betaking himself to sea, in which determination he was joined by some others. After sundry adventures, they landed at Raiatea, where they were kindly received by the inhabitants; under whose direction they soon afterwards visited the dwellings of the missionaries, the native Christians, the chapel, and schools. When sufficiently instructed, they farther pro-

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Such was the country which these strangers yearn'd
To see again ; a sight they dearly earn'd."

" How pleasant were the songs of Toobouai,
When summer's sun went down the coral bay !
Come, let us to the islet's softest shade,
And hear the warbling birds ! the damsels said :
The wood-dove from the forest depth shall coo,
Like voices of the gods from Bolotoo ;
We'll cull the flowers that grow above the dead,
For these most bloom where rests the warrior's head ;
And we will sit in twilight's face, and see
The sweet moon glancing through the tooa tree,
The lofty accents of whose sighing bough
Shall sadly please us as we lean below ;
Or climb the steep, and view the surf in vain
Wrestle with rocky giants o'er the main,
Which spurn in columns back the baffled spray.
How beautiful are these ! how happy they,
Who, from the toil and tumult of their lives,
Steal to look down where nought but ocean strives !
Even he too loves at times the blue lagoon,
And smooths his ruffled mane beneath the moon."

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ceeded to renounce their own superstitions, to take part in public worship, and finally to make an open profession of the gospel.

They were now seized with a strong desire to communicate to their countrymen the valuable knowledge which they themselves had just received; and as an English ship happened to arrive, the captain generously consented to give them a passage to Rurutoo. Two native believers, with their wives, were, at the request of Anura, selected to accompany them; and accordingly, in July 1821, they all embarked for his paternal island, which they reached after a voyage of three days. At their debarkation, the Raiatean teachers, ignorant that they had touched consecrated ground, performed a christian rite which the inhabitants firmly believed would be punished by a visible manifestation of wrath on the part of the divinities; but finding that the sacrilege was allowed to pass unrevenged, they readily yielded to the suggestion that their gods, having no power, were no longer worthy of the costly oblations presented by their votaries. Anura set the example of dismissing his idol, of which he made a present to the captain who had conveyed him and his party from Raiatea. Having invited the whole population to meet him, the zealous chief began his address by relating to them the principal incidents of his late voyage, alluding to their apprehension, "that he had been eaten by the evil spirit in the depths of the sea." He assured them that, on the contrary, God had led him by a way which he knew not, to a land where teachers dwelt, and where the divine word grew and flourished; and that he had returned to them for the purpose of communicating the compassion of Jehovah, the name of the Son of God, and the work of the Holy Spirit in enlightening their hearts. To this address the king and the leaders of the people replied, "we will receive the Word of Life, and let every thing made by our hands as an object of worship be totally destroyed in the fire." The multitude there, as in all other parts of the world, easily susceptible of a prevailing impulse,

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and not averse to change, with reason, or without it, instantly hurled their images from the places they had so long occupied, burnt to the ground three of their sacred dwellings, and, on the same day, proceeded in a body to the demolition of their temples.*

After remaining about a month in Rurutoo, the boatmen from Raiatea returned home, having their little vessel loaded with the rejected idols; a token of success which was received with great thankfulness and satisfaction by the christian community in the former island. A meeting was held in the large chapel to communicate the delightful tidings to the people at large, and to offer praise to God for the triumph with which he had graciously crowned the first effort in that quarter to extend the knowledge of his name. The building was lighted up with ten chandeliers made of wood neatly turned; cocoa-nut shells were substituted for lamps. The middle chandelier held eighteen lights, twelve in the lower circle and six in the upper; the others held ten and twelve each. When lighted up, they presented to the natives a most brilliant appearance, which called forth expressions of astonishment and pleasure. In the course of the evening the degraded idols were exhibited from the pulpit, one of which, in particular, the national god of Rurutoo, excited considerable interest, being esteemed by his ignorant devotees as the ancestor of their tribe, the patriarch by whom their island was originally peopled. Tamatoa, the king, addressed the meeting, encouraging his subjects to persevere in their good work. "Let us," he exclaimed, "continue to give our oil and arrow-root to God, that the blind may see and the deaf hear."†

* Polynesian Researches, vol. iii. p. 399.

† About this period the missionaries, who feared that they had become a burden to the society at home, began to induce the islanders among whom they laboured to contribute somewhat towards supporting the funds. The ship Hope, which conveyed Anura to his own island, had on board eighty tons of cocoa-nut oil, an offering from the Christians of Otaheite. George the Fourth, upon being informed of this circumstance, gave orders that the duty should be remitted, which enhanced the value of the property £400. The total amount, therefore,

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In 1822, when the island was visited by a missionary, it was found that many of the Rurutooans had learned to read, and some to write; and as a proof of their pacific habits, the railing round the table in front of the pulpit was composed of the handles of spears, no longer required for their original use. After the lapse of two years, Mr Ellis again set foot amongst them, travelled across their mountains from one station to another, and conversed freely with the inhabitants, not a few of whom were living in comfortable dwellings, and wearing decent clothing. Industry, activity, and cheerfulness were every where manifest, and the general improvement steadily advancing. In 1829, when Mr Williams inspected their affairs, he was called to perform the pleasing duty of opening a new church, sixty feet long and forty wide, and found that on both sides of the island education had been so well received that there was scarcely an adult who could not read.*

The only other island we shall mention as belonging to this cluster is Rimatara, situated westward of Toobouai, and a little farther north. Its circumference does not exceed twenty miles; and though more elevated than those of the coral formation, it does not rise to any great height above the level of the ocean. Being protected by a reef, the land on the seaside is valuable; the hills are clothed with trees and shrubs; while the valleys yield the fruits common to that region of the earth. The population is estimated at three hundred; and they are described as a quiet gentle race, who find a regular occupation in the simplest employments of agriculture and fishing. They seem not to be chargeable with the immoralities which stain the character of their neighbours

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thus conveyed to the directors in London was about £1800. The policy of such demands on the industry and piety of the converts may be doubted, as not unlikely to excite the suspicion of mercenary views in their teachers. Such donations elsewhere have been regarded as the basis of a commercial intercourse which reflected no favourable light on the christian cause.—Williams' Missionary Enterprises, p. 38.

* Polynesian Researches, vol. iii. p. 404.

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in the Society Isles, and more especially in the Low Archipelago. Their sources of enjoyment are more scanty, but, in compensation, their crimes and sufferings are much fewer.

We owe our knowledge of their sequestered dwelling entirely to the exertions of the missionaries; for, though the natives of the more northern groups had some faint notion of the existence of an island and a small people at a greater distance than themselves from the equator, they could give no such directions as would have led to a discovery. When Anura returned to his own country from Raiatea, he found there a number of the inhabitants of Rimatara, who, after receiving christian instruction, made haste to convey the same blessing to their kinsmen at home. In the month of June 1822, the brethren in Bolabola sent two of their body to assist them in this benevolent undertaking, and, besides the elements of religion, to teach the important arts of reading and writing. They applied themselves with diligence to the accomplishment of their object, and such was the success with which their endeavours were attended, that when the author of the Missionary Enterprises visited them, about fifteen months afterwards, he found that the people at large had renounced their idols, and were living in the utmost harmony. They had erected a building for divine worship, the walls of which were plastered, and the floor regularly boarded. The congregation, amounting to nearly three hundred, presented a most interesting sight. The females were neatly dressed in white cloth of their own manufacture, and all wearing bonnets which the wives of the teachers had taught them to make. "Men who had grown old in the service of idolatry, and who had never met for worship but in a heathen temple, now assembled to render homage to the living God. The venerable figures, whose heads were gray with years, appeared in striking contrast with the youth and sprightliness of the children by whom they were surrounded." During the service all were attentive and apparently deeply interested. At this

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time the entire population were under instruction, including a hundred and thirty boys and girls.*

A great improvement has also been effected in their moral sentiments and social intercourse. The missionaries, on their first arrival, found great cause to lament that, though their habits were in many respects mild and humane, they subjected the women to the most humiliating drudgery. They were compelled to labour in the cultivation of the soil, while their husbands and brothers spent their hours in indolence or amusement; a practice which continued some time after the conversion of the whole people to the gospel, which sanctions no such disparity in the sexes. To remedy this evil, a meeting was held in the year 1825, when one of the preachers proposed a change in their usages as far as the employment of the females was concerned. No sooner was it explained than every chief present expressed his opinion in favour of the meditated reform; and their deliberations ended in a unanimous resolution that thenceforth "the men should dig, plant, and prepare the food, and the women make cloth and bonnets, and attend to their household work." The change thus introduced, by establishing a suitable division of labour, has proved favourable to domestic virtue and social happiness, while it has greatly augmented all the means of subsistence. Aware that their comfort depends essentially on a knowledge of the arts, they sent one of their number to Bolabola, a distance of nearly four hundred miles, to learn the trade of a carpenter and other branches, in order that on his return he might communicate his acquirements to others.†

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* Researches, vol. iii. p. 391. Mr Williams (Enterprises, p. 363) says, "I have not spoken of any of my visits to Rimatara, a beautiful little island, about seventy miles west of Rurutoo. We first heard of it from Anura; and Christianity being established at Rurutoo, we succeeded in imparting the same blessing to the inhabitants of Rimatara. Messrs Thorlkeld and Orsmond were the first Europeans who visited it."

† Missionary Chronicle, No. XLI. p. 271. Ellis, vol. iii. p. 393.

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About four years ago, notice was given to the public of the discovery of a group of islands in the Low Archipelago which do not appear in any map or chart. The Actæon, a ship of war, commanded by Lord Edward Russell, while on the passage from Otaheite to Pitcairn's Island, discovered land, and being within three miles of the most western island, bearing north-north-west, made out three low wooded ones, with a heavy surf on the beach, and no appearance of anchorage. The most distant appeared to have a lagoon in the centre, with a reef extending about three quarters of a mile from its north-western and south-eastern extremes. The names assigned to them, respectively, were Bedford, Minto, and Melbourne; and from a chart made by the master of the Actæon, it appears that they stretch about thirteen miles from north-west to south-east. The middle one was conjectured to be about five miles in length, but there were no traces of inhabitants.

The positions were determined by means of three good chronometers, when seven days from Otaheite, and eight before arriving at Pitcairn's Island, so that it may be presumed there can be little doubt as to the correct situation of the group. It is in the same parallel and about sixty miles to the westward of Hood's Island. There is reason to believe that several others are known to the navigators in those remote seas, though they have not found their way into the compilation of any hydrographer. Of these may be mentioned the Amphitrite and Maria Islands, discovered by Mr Ebrill, the master of an Otaheitan merchantman; the latter being considered identical with one seen by M. Denis in the month of December 1835. Such discoveries, in truth, must from time to time continue to be made in that vast ocean, where volcanic agency, combined with the labours of the zoophyte, never ceases to stud the surface of the deep with points of new land.*

* Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London, vol. vii. p.454. Bulletin de la Société de Géographie, August 1837; and Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. vi. p. 441.

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CHAPTER VI.

Hervey or Cook's Islands.

Hervey Islands discovered by Cook—His Mistake as to Inhabitants—Their first Visit to the English Ship—Behaviour and Appearance—Number of Islands—A Chief goes on board at Mangaia—Population and Extent of it—Position of Atiu, and Number of Inhabitants—Singular Mistake as to the Animals in the Ship—Omai meets Natives of Society Islands—Account of their Voyage—Discovery of Aitutaki—Its Position and Appearance—Mauke discovered by two Missionaries—Mr Williams reaches Rarotonga—Gospel introduced into Aitutaki—Appearance of People—Visit of Missionaries to Mangaia—Their brutal Reception—Inhabitants converted to the Gospel—Success of the Teachers at Atiu, Mitiaro, and Mauke—Remarks by Captain Lord Byron—Rarotonga receives the Gospel from Papeiha, a native Teacher—Rapid Success of Christianity—Mr Williams again visits Rarotonga—Introduction of sundry new Laws among the People—Polygamy and the Principle of Succession to Property—Hervey Islands exposed to Hurricanes—Epidemic Diseases—Numerous Deaths in 1831—Children greatly improved by Missionaries—Difficulties with the adult Pupils—Aversion to attend Church—Expedient adopted by the Preachers—Favourable Contrast as to Rarotonga—Continued Progress of Knowledge and Civilisation—Case of a Chief—Number of Persons in Congregations and Schools—Religion must precede all other Improvements.

The islands which form the subject of this chapter were discovered in 1773 by the renowned Cook, who named what he considered the principal one of the group in honour of Captain Hervey, at that time a Lord of the Admiralty, and afterwards Earl of Bristol. Upon approaching its shore, he found it to consist of two or three

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small islets connected together by breakers, like most of the same class in the South Sea, lying in a triangular form, and about six leagues in circumference. It was clothed with wood, among which were many cocoa-nut trees; but he saw no people, nor appearance of dwellings, and had reason to believe there were none. According to his observations, the latitude is 19° 18′ south, and the longitude 158° 54′ west. In 1823, when visited by a missionary, it was ascertained that in regard to occupation the great navigator had concluded too hastily. It was, no doubt, found that the miserable natives, by their frequent wars, had reduced their number to about sixty; and seven years later, this small remnant was, by the same cause, still farther diminished, to five men, three women, and two children, who were disturbed by a violent contest which of them should be king. Captain Cook, indeed, long before the period of missionary enterprise, had corrected his mistake in regard to the supposition just mentioned. On the 6th April 1777, when he again drew near it, he observed several canoes put off from the shore, and direct their course towards the ships. "This was a sight that surprised me," says he, "as no signs of inhabitants were seen when the island was first discovered; which might be owing to a pretty brisk wind that then blew, and prevented their canoes venturing out as the ships passed to leeward, whereas now we were to windward." He describes his visiters as clamorous and disorderly in the extreme, having, at the same time, all the suspicion and thievish propensities of the Polynesian race. They attempted to take some oars out of the Discovery's boat, and struck a man who endeavoured to prevent them. They also cut away with a shell a net with meat which hung over the ship's side, and absolutely refused to restore it. Behaving in the most daring manner, they made a sort of hook of a long stick, with which they openly endeavoured to rob the crew of whatever came within their reach. They had a fierce surly aspect, resembling in features the natives of New Zealand, with strong black hair, which they wore either

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hanging loose about the shoulders, or tied in a bunch on the crown of the head.*

The Hervey Islands are seven in number, which, besides the one now specified, are Mangaia, Atiu, Mitiaro, Mauke, Aitutaki, and Rarotonga. The first of these was discovered by Captain Cook, on the 29th March 1777. Being near the shore, he could perceive with his glass that several of the natives, who appeared upon a sandy beach, were armed with long spears and clubs, which they brandished in the air with signs of threatening. Most of them were naked, but a few had pieces of cloth of different colours, white, striped, or chequered, which they wore as a garment, thrown about the shoulders. They had a kind of sandal, made of a grassy substance ingeniously woven, which seemed intended to defend their feet against the coral rock. Their beards were long; and the inside of their arms, from the shoulder to the elbow, was tattooed, after the manner of the other islanders in those latitudes. The lobe of the ear was pierced, or rather slit, and to such a length that one of them stuck into it a knife and some beads which he had received from the sailors. Mourooa, a chief, accompanied the captain on board, where the cattle and other new objects presented to his view did not strike him with so much surprise as was expected. His mind, indeed, seemed to be so deeply occupied with thoughts about his own safety, that he was incapable of attending to any other thing. Going out of the cabin, he happened to stumble over a goat; and his curiosity now overcoming his fear, he looked at it, and asked what bird it was. Mangaia lies in lat. 21° 57′ S., and long. 158° 3′ W. Such parts of it as fell under the notice of the discoverers were guarded by a coral reef, on the outside of which the sea is of an unfathomable depth. It is fully five

* A Voyage towards the South Pole and round the World, performed in His Majesty's Ships the Resolution and Adventure, in the years 1772, 1773, 1774, and 1775, written by James Cook, Commander of the Resolution (2 vols, London, 1779), vol. i. p. 190. Missionary Enterprises, p. 18.

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leagues in circuit, and in the middle rises into little hills, whence there is a gentle descent to the shore. This declivity is covered with trees of a deep green colour, very thick, but not tall, among which are numbers of that species of dracæna found in the woods of New Zealand as well as in some other places. "Upon the whole," concludes the navigator, "the island has a pretty aspect, and might be made a beautiful place by cultivation."*

On the authority of later observers, we may remark that Mangaia, which is estimated to be about twenty or twenty-five miles in circumference, rises to a greater height than was supposed by Cook, who did not land. The population is stated by the missionaries to exceed two thousand, though the grounds on which their calculations are founded, do not challenge an unlimited confidence. This island presents a peculiarity of conformation which may be traced throughout nearly the whole group; the surrounding reef every where joins the shore, and hence there is neither an entrance for boats nor a safe anchorage for ships.

Atiu, or Wateoo, as it was called by the distinguished officer already so often named, is situated in lat. 20° S., and long. 158° 15′ W. In circuit its dimensions are understood to be not less than twenty miles; its surface is hilly; its general aspect is that of romantic beauty; and the number of inhabitants is said to fall somewhat short of two thousand. It was discovered by him in the month of March 1777, and he soon afterwards opened an amicable intercourse with the simple natives. A canoe appeared alongside the Resolution, having twelve men on board, who, as they drew near, recited some words in concert, by way of chorus, one of their number first standing up and giving the signal before each repetition. When first conducted into the cabin, some objects seemed to strike them with great surprise; but nothing fixed their attention for a moment. They were afraid to go near the cows and horses,

* A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean for making Discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere (3 vols, London, 1785), vol. i. p. 177.

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nor could they form the least conception of their nature. The sheep and goats, however, did not surpass the limits of their comprehension; they at once took them for birds. "It will appear rather incredible," observes the captain, "that human ignorance could ever make so strange a mistake; there not being the most distant similitude between a sheep or goat and any winged animal. But these people seemed to know nothing of the existence of any other land animals besides hogs, dogs, and birds. Our sheep and goats, they could see, were very different creatures from the two first, and therefore they inferred that they must belong to the latter class, in which they knew there is a considerable variety of species."

The most remarkable incident connected with this visit to Atiu, was a meeting which took place between the celebrated Omai, now on his return home, and three of his own countrymen, natives of the Society Islands. At the distance of not less than six hundred miles, an unknown ocean intervening, and with such imperfect boats as their inhabitants are known to use, this event might be regarded as one of those feigned occurrences which writers of imagination produce in order to excite the astonishment or amuse the fancy of their readers. Their story, as related by themselves, is not a little affecting. About twenty persons of both sexes had embarked in a canoe at Otaheite, to cross over to the neighbouring island of Raiatea; but a violent wind arising, they could neither reach the one nor get back to the other. As the intended voyage was short, their stock of provisions was soon exhausted; and the sufferings they endured, while driven before the tempest they knew not whither, were exceedingly great. They passed some days without having any thing either to eat or drink. Worn out by famine, their numbers gradually diminished, till only four men survived; and at length their small vessel being overset, hope itself nearly deserted them. But unwilling to resign life so long as any means remained whereby it might possibly be saved, they continued to cling to the

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sides of their skiff until they came in sight of Atiu, the inhabitants of which removed them from the wreck, and carried them ashore. Of the four thus rescued, one had subsequently died; but so well satisfied were the survivors with their situation, that they refused the offer made by the English commander to restore them to their own country. The similarity of manners and language had quite naturalized them to their new abode; and the connexions which they had formed in the island, and which, after a residence of twelve years, it would have been painful to break off, sufficiently account for their declining to revisit the place of their birth.*

For their first acquaintance with Aitutaki, the geographers of Europe are indebted to the indefatigable researches of the same distinguished navigator. Like the other members of the archipelago, it is surrounded with a reef; presents a rich and variegated landscape; and rises to a considerable elevation above the waters of the great ocean by which its shores are constantly washed. Its position is lat. 18° 54′ S., and long. 159° 41′ W. The population is conjectured to be about two thousand.

Mauke, which was discovered by two christian teachers, in the year 1823, lies a little farther south, and two degrees more to the eastward. Being about fifteen miles in circumference, it is capable of maintaining a considerable population; but, a short time before it became known to our countrymen, the inhabitants had been attacked by an enemy, and their numbers reduced to three hundred. A similar visitation had nearly exterminated the natives of Mitiaro, a smaller island of the same description, and situated about twenty miles north-west of the former.

Rarotonga, the most important of the whole, having

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* A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, vol. i. p. 200. This fact, as Cook justly remarks, "will serve to explain better than a thousand conjectures of speculative reasoners, how the detached parts of the earth, and, in particular, how the islands of the South Sea may have been first peopled; especially those which lie remote from any inhabited continent, or from each other."

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a population of not less than six thousand, was, as will be immediately related, added to the Hervey cluster by the late Mr Williams, a zealous servant of the gospel, and favourably known to the public as the author of "Missionary Enterprises." It was found in lat. 21° 20′ S., and long. 160° W.; is thirty miles in circumference, and surrounded with a reef, which, nevertheless, permits some good harbours. At a little distance, it appears to the eye like a mountainous mass, but it is found to contain fine valleys, and most romantic scenery. The aggregate number of inhabitants in the seven islands is computed at sixteen thousand, which, however, varies according to the healthiness and abundance of the seasons.

Of all this group, the gospel was first introduced into Aitutaki. Proceeding from Rurutoo, the missionary just named touched at that insular spot, and was immediately surrounded by canoes. The natives were noisy, and presented in their persons and manners all the wild features of savage life. Some were tattooed from head to foot; some were painted most fantastically with pipe-clay and various-coloured ochre, while others were smeared with charcoal; but all were dancing, shouting, and exhibiting the most whimsical gestures. The chief, who went on board, being informed that idolatry was abolished in the Society Islands, and that all the gods were consumed with fire, lent a ready ear to the proposal of receiving teachers who should instruct his people in the true faith. He forthwith promised protection to his new guides, and saluting them heartily by rubbing noses, he paddled away with them to the nearest landing-place.

At Aitutaki there were two natives of an adjacent island, to which they were desirous of carrying the glad tidings which they themselves had just received. This was no other than Rarotonga, as yet unknown to every European adventurer, but of which there were many traditions afloat, as well in the tales circulated among the people, as in the conversation of the more aged of their number. It was therefore resolved, that with the view of discovering the birthplace of the two converts, a special voyage

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should be undertaken under the direction of Mr Williams, in which they were invited to take a part. This project met with no encouragement in the first instance; the missionaries being assured that the Rarotongans were a most ferocious class of men, avowed cannibals, and moreover exceedingly treacherous.

After a fruitless search of eight days, without discovering any symptom of land in the direction indicated, the party steered their course for Mangaia. Their reception in that island was by no means flattering. The natives, uncertain as to their purpose in visiting their solitary residence, attempted to repel them by menaces, and even by a more hostile demonstration; nor was it until they saw the teachers resolved to set foot amongst them, that they conceded a reluctant permission. But no sooner did the zealous missionaries reach the shore, than a general attack was made upon their persons and properties. One of them had a saw, which the savages seized, broke into three pieces, and tied to their ears as ornaments. There were also two pigs, animals which they had never before seen; and these were appropriated by a chief, who, decorating them in his own official robes, sent the unclean quadrupeds into the presence of his gods. But their conduct to the teachers' wives was still more offensive. They carried them by force into the adjoining woods, and were proceeding to treat them with great brutality, when, terrified by the report of a gun fired from the ship, they betook themselves to flight. The chief, informed of this violence, expressed the deepest regret; but stated, that in his island, "all heads being of an equal height," he was not able to protect them, and, therefore, much as he wished them to stay, he would rather that they did not go ashore again.

Unpromising as this commencement was, not more than a few months elapsed before the gospel obtained an ardent acceptation in Mangaia. Soon after the visit just described, a disease broke out which proved exceedingly fatal; and ascribing this calamity to the anger excited

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in the mind of the "strangers' god," by their recent atrocities, they made a vow, that if he would suspend the farther execution of his vengeance, they would receive his worshippers kindly, and give them food to eat. Hence, when two teachers, sent by the church at Tahaa, appeared on their coast, they were conducted to the principal village with the most lively congratulation, and encouraged to begin without delay their benevolent exertions for enlightening the people.

The next scene in which the labours of christian truth were undertaken was Atiu, whither some agents had been previously sent. When the deputation from London arrived, they found the teachers in a miserable condition, having been stripped of every article of property, suffering exceedingly from hunger, and much disheartened by their want of success. But Romatane, the chief, being induced to visit the ship, had the good fortune to hear a sermon against idolatry, founded on the words of Isaiah, "with part thereof he roasteth meat, and is satisfied; and the residue thereof he maketh a god, and worshippeth it, and prayeth unto it, and saith, deliver me, for thou art my god." The idea for the first time darted with irresistible force into his mind; and he perceived at once the excessive folly of making a god and cooking food from the same tree. He appeared for some time lost in deep reflection; and at length he expressed his determination never again to worship idols, saying, "eyes it is true they have, but wood cannot see; ears they have, but wood cannot hear."

After this profession on his own part, he accompanied the missionaries to Mitiaro, to propagate the same belief, and to introduce a similar reformation. Using an authority which belonged to him as the ruling chief, he commanded the people to burn their temples, and to place themselves under the guidance of the persons whom he was about to leave, who would instruct them in the worship of Jehovah. Similar success attended his exertions at Mauke, of which he was likewise the sovereign. Tararo, the chief, with a number of the in-

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habitants, was waiting to receive him, to whom he communicated, without delay or reserve, the object of his visit; announcing that they were to abandon those decorated pieces of wood called gods, and all the infamous customs connected with their worship; and, in the next place, to prepare their minds for the reception of the "good word which taught salvation." Having recommended the teachers to the kindness of his vassals, he put them in possession of a new house which had been erected for himself, and shaking hands with them most affectionately, he returned on board the ship.*

This conversion, though sudden, and arising from a feeling of loyalty rather than from the weight of evidence, appears to have taken root in the hearts of the people, and to have produced the usual happy results. Lord Byron, who touched at Mauke, or, as he writes it, Manti, in the year 1825, relates, that after he came to anchor, two persons, who, by their dress and appearance seemed to be of some importance, stepped on board; and, to his great surprise, produced a written document from that branch of the London Missionary Society which is established at Otaheite, qualifying them to act as native teachers in the island. They were, he adds, fine-looking men, dressed in cotton shirts, cloth jackets, and a sort of petticoat of very fine mat, instead of trousers. Having accompanied them ashore, he saw on a beautiful green lawn, "two of the prettiest washed cottages imaginable," the dwellings of the missionaries; and the inside corresponded with their exterior neatness. The floors were boarded; there were a sofa and some chairs of native workmanship; and windows with Venetian shutters, which rendered the apartments cool and agreeable. The rooms were divided from each other by

* Missionary Enterprises, p. 90. Lord Byron, in allusion to this change, remarks: "thus in one day, and that the first in which a vessel from the civilized world touched them, the superstitions of ages were overturned, and the knowledge of the true God brought among a docile, and, generally speaking, innocent people."

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screens; in one there was a bed of white tapa, and the floor was covered with the same material, coloured and varnished, which bore a great resemblance to oil-cloth. He was exceedingly struck with the appearance of cleanliness, and even of elegance, as well as with the decorous behaviour of the people, especially the women; contrasting strongly with the less reserved manners of the sex in the Sandwich Islands. He next accompanied the brethren to their church, which stands on a rising ground, about four hundred yards from the cottages. A fence, composed of the trunks of cocoa-nut trees, surrounds the area in which it is erected. Its form is oval, and the roof is supported by four pillars, which bear up the ridge. It is capable of containing four hundred persons. Two doors and twelve windows give it light and air; the pulpit and reading-desk are neatly carved, and painted with a variety of pretty designs; and the benches for the people are arranged neatly around. Close to this structure is the burial-place, which is a mound of earth covered with greensward; and the whole has an air of modest simplicity which delighted not less than surprised the gallant strangers.*

Rarotonga was at length discovered by the indefatigable missionaries, who, reflecting that there was still one island to which they had not conveyed the elements of improvement and religious knowledge, gave themselves no rest until they found it. From the king they received a most cordial welcome; and after narrating to him the circumstances which had attended the renunciation of idolatry in other places, they made known

* Voyage of H. M. S. Blonde to the Sandwich Islands, in the years 1824, 1825, Captain the Right Honourable Lord Byron, commander (4to, London, 1826) p. 210. "On our return to the beach, one of the missionaries attended us. As we retraced our steps through the wood, the warbling of the birds, whose plumage was as rich as it was new to us,—the various-tinted butterflies that fluttered across our path—the delicious climate—the magnificent forest trees—and, above all, the perfect union and harmony existing among the natives—presented a succession of agreeable pictures which could not fail to delight us."—P. 212.

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their desire to extend the benefits of the gospel to his subjects, through the medium of native teachers. Various difficulties were encountered by the two brethren who landed under the auspices of Makea, the ruling chief; and as there was no immediate prospect that the demoralized state of society among the Rarotongans could be so much reformed as to justify the residence of married men, they resolved to transfer their services to some less savage tribe. One alone, the courageous Papeiha, determined to brave all danger rather than desert a station to which Divine Providence seemed to call him; and accordingly with no property besides the clothes he wore, his Testament in the native language, and a few elementary books, he advanced into the crowd of heathens, determined, through the help of his Maker, to wean their minds from the degrading superstition of which they had long been the victims. His zeal was rewarded with the success for which he so earnestly laboured and prayed. About a year after he began his task, the London deputation, already noticed, consisting of Mr Bennet and the Rev. Daniel Tyerman, visited the domains of Makea, and found the inhabitants, already converted to the truth, busily employed in erecting a place of christian worship six hundred feet in length.

One of the missionaries remarks, that "much has been said in Europe concerning the success of the gospel in Otaheite and the Society Islands, but it is not to be compared with its progress in Rarotonga. In the former, teachers laboured fifteen long years before any fruit appeared. But two years ago, Rarotonga was hardly known to exist, was not marked in any of the charts, and we spent much time in traversing the ocean in search of it. Two years ago, the Rarotongans did not know that there was such good news as the gospel: and now I scruple not to say that their attention to the means of grace, their regard to family and private prayer, equals whatever has been witnessed in Otaheite and the neighbouring islands. And when we look at the means, it becomes more astonishing. Two native teachers, not particularly

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distinguished among their own countrymen for intelligence, have been the instruments of effecting this wonderful change, and that before a single European missionary had set his foot upon the island."*

In the year 1827, Mr Williams repaired to Rarotonga; and referring to the disorderly condition of the people when he formerly approached their shores, he aptly observes, that they were now "clothed and in their right mind." All the females wore bonnets, and were dressed in white cloth, while the men used clothes and hats of native manufacture. On the first Lord's day, a congregation of about four thousand assembled, a number much greater than their church could contain; and hence the necessity of a larger structure, which was forthwith provided, a hundred and fifty feet in length, well plastered and fitted up throughout with seats. Indeed, the attendance of the people on the means of grace, and their anxiety to understand the truths of the gospel, were truly encouraging. At the conclusion of every service, many of them followed the preachers home, and taking seats under the shade of the banana trees, by which their habitations were encircled, spent an hour or more in making inquiries respecting the subject of the address they had just heard.

The change produced in their circumstances by the introduction of the gospel, rendered it expedient that some alteration should be made in their laws. The chiefs themselves had already perceived the necessity of following the example of the rulers at Otaheite and in

* Communication from Mr Bourne, quoted in Missionary Enterprises, p. 112. We are informed that "some of the idols were torn to pieces; others were reserved to decorate the rafters of the chapel the natives proposed to erect; and one was kept to be sent to England, which is now in the Missionary Museum. It is not, however, so respectable in its appearance as when in its own country; for his majesty's custom-house officers, fearing lest the god should be made a vehicle for defrauding the exchequer, very unceremoniously took it to pieces; and not being so well skilled in making gods as in protecting the revenue, they have not made it so handsome as when it was an object of adoration to the deluded Rarotongans."—P. 117.

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the Society Islands, and of adopting a code of christian ethics as the basis of their judicial administration; for, as their civil polity was intimately connected with their sanguinary superstition, as soon as the one was subverted, the other ceased to have either authority or sanction. The inhabitants of Rarotonga, like the other branches of the great Polynesian family, had at all times been addicted to theft; and as many of them who professed Christianity were influenced merely by example, no sooner had the powerful excitement, produced by passing from one state of society to another, subsided in their minds, than they returned to the habits in which they had been trained from their earliest years. The laws enacted by the lords of the island, being principally borrowed from Raiatea, were few in number, and drawn up in the plainest language, entirely divested of all the technicalities by which the statutes of more civilized countries are too frequently obscured.

Some delicate subjects presented themselves for discussion before the new rules of life could be finally established. Among these was polygamy; for, prior to the abolition of their idolatrous usages, this practice prevailed to a considerable extent, and when a person so circumstanced offered himself as a candidate for baptism, the teachers usually required that he should make a selection of one from among his wives, and provide for the support of those whom he should dismiss. This method of procedure was generally acceptable for a season; but some who had acceded to the proposed arrangement, afterwards reassembled the female members of their households, alleging as a reason for so soon returning to their ancient custom, that they were not aware the separation imposed upon them was meant to be more than temporary. It was therefore resolved to convene the people, and recommend that a choice should again be made of the spouse with whom each individual would consent to pass his life, and the marriage was immediately solemnized in the presence of the whole assembly. Knowing that the course pursued by the king would

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form a precedent, the missionaries advised him to name publicly the individual he intended to make his future companion for better for worse; and of his three wives he chose the youngest, to whom he was immediately united in the bonds of christian matrimony in the presence of his people. Having this example to urge, they advanced to the consideration of the other cases, which they found little difficulty in settling; and for some time at least no inconvenience was experienced.

Other obstacles arose from inveterate customs, which it was more easy to condemn than to reform. For instance, there was the unnatural practice called "Kukumi anga," which allowed a son as soon as he reached manhood to fight or wrestle with his father; and if he obtained the mastery, he might take forcible possession of the land previously occupied by his parent. Again, when a wife was bereft of her husband by the hand of death, his relations had a right to seize every article of value belonging to him, and to eject from the house the destitute widow with her helpless children. There was a third evil known amongst them by a term which might be translated "land-eating," or the unlawful possession of each other's grounds; but upon inquiry it was found to be a species of oppression in which so many individuals were involved, and also a point on which the feelings of all classes were so exquisitely sensitive, that to bring it into discussion would probably endanger the peace of the island. After all these preliminary matters had undergone mature deliberation, a general assembly was again convened, when the whole code of laws, having been distinctly read and carefully explained, was unanimously adopted by the chiefs and the people, as the ground on which public justice was ever to be administered in the island of Rarotonga.*

* Missionary Enterprises, p. 138. Mr Williams, "in answer to the charge that the missionaries in the South Seas have assumed even regal authority," maintains that "no missionary in the Pacific ever possessed any such authority; that his influence is entirely of a moral character; and I may add, that

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The ground being thus prepared, the foundation of the spiritual building was laid. Many obstacles have been encountered, arising at once from physical and moral causes; but the great work has never ceased to advance, though the progress has not at all times been equal, nor the prospect of ultimate success altogether unclouded. The Hervey group is subject to occasional hurricanes, which overturn the houses and root out the plants, even in the most sheltered places; and these visitations are usually followed by severe famine, and not unfrequently by infectious distempers. On the 19th December 1831, a storm of the most frightful nature, which swept over Rarotonga, destroyed in a few hours every chapel and school-house, nearly all the native dwellings, and the greatest part of the most valuable trees in the island. The consequences of this calamity were deeply felt; for the people, generally improvident, and destitute of the means of making suitable provision for such an occurrence, suffered intensely owing to the want of food. The previous season, too, appears to have been unfavourable, the supply of bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts being very deficient. Encouraged by Mr Pitman, the chief missionary, the natives extended their plantations; but a large proportion of the new trees was destroyed, either by mischievous depredators, or by a destructive insect bearing some resemblance to the locust. To these evils was added an epidemic, which was so general in its ravages, that in a population of nearly seven thousand, not more than ten or twelve individuals escaped infection. At one of the stations, called Ngatangiia, upwards of a thousand persons were seized with the distemper; and during two months, the deaths sometimes amounted to ten daily. It has since been ascertained that the number of victims at the several places under the inspection of the christian teachers, was not less than twelve hundred.

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there are no instances on record where men have used their influence less for their own aggrandizement, or more for the welfare of the people."

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The reader who inspects the public communications from this part of Polynesia, will be convinced that the most gratifying results which have flowed from the exertions of christian teachers, are to be found in the improved character of the children. After the labour of a few years, the missionaries could boast that their schools were attended by three thousand young persons, all of whom had learned to read, repeat the catechism, and even refer to passages in the Bible, viewed as the basis of their creed. The adult pupils were neither so docile nor so industrious. Their minds, unaccustomed to exercise, could not put forth the powers of memory or judgment; they could not even combine syllables into words, nor master the simplest elements of literature, whether for amusement or instruction. Nay, it should seem, that after the first ardour was cooled, they had no desire to attend the lessons of their spiritual guides. These last candidly state, that many of the natives had become slack in their attendance on Sundays; upon which the chiefs sent a messenger to inform them, that they would employ the constables to make the people go to worship. It being contrary to the views of the preachers to allow coercion in such a case, they requested that they might be permitted to try some other method. The most pious and active Christians were immediately selected, who appropriated Saturday for the purpose of visiting every house, in order to hold religious conversation with the inmates; an expedient which was found so completely successful, that the chiefs never afterwards deemed it incumbent on them to interpose their authority with the view of securing a due regard to the solemn duties of the gospel. On several occasions there has been a tendency to backsliding; and on one emergency, their old habits so far prevailed, that a civil war burst out, arms were resumed by the combatants on either side, and blood was shed in the field of battle. But the mediation of the missionaries calmed their angry spirits; the club and bow were laid aside; and now the most sanguinary of their

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number express satisfaction that they can live together in unity, and even cultivate the benevolent affections one towards another.

The following remarks made by an active minister in those islands, present an outline of the happy effects produced by Christianity, which cannot be charged with the slightest exaggeration:—"In reference to Rarotonga, I cannot forbear drawing a contrast between the state of the inhabitants when I first visited them in 1823, and that in which I left them in 1834. In 1823, I found them all heathens; in 1834, they were all professing Christians. At the former period, I found them with idols and marais; these, in 1834, were destroyed, and in their stead there were three spacious and substantial places of christian worship, in which congregations, amounting to six thousand persons, assembled every Sabbath-day. I found them without a written language; and left them reading in their own tongue the "wonderful works of God."—"I found them without a knowledge of the Sabbath; and when I left them, no manner of work was done on that sacred day. When I found them in 1823, they were ignorant of the nature of christian worship; and when I left them in 1834, I am not aware that there was a house in the island where family prayer was not observed every morning and every evening. I speak not this boastingly; for our satisfaction arises not from receiving such honours, but in casting them at the Saviour's feet."—"What has been said of Rarotonga, is equally applicable to the whole Hervey group; for, with the exception of a few at Mangaia, I believe there does not remain a single idolater, or vestige of idolatry, in any one of the islands. I do not assert that all the people are real Christians; but I merely state the delightful fact, that the inhabitants of this entire group have, in the short space of ten years, abandoned a dark, debasing, and sanguinary idolatry, with all its horrid rites; and it does appear to me that, if nothing more had been effected, this alone would compensate for

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all the privations, and labours, and expense, by which it has been effected."*

The latest reports from the Hervey Islands confirm the anticipations to which such facts had given birth in the mind of every one who takes an interest in the condition of the heathen. In Rarotonga, the christian churches present an animating aspect, both as it respects their character and growing numbers. Education is eagerly sought both by the aged and the young; and the moral character of the people, which, but a few years ago, was equally loathsome and terrific, is now generally marked by the pure influence of Christianity. In that church, one of the most consistent members, and an active evangelist, was in the days of his youth a cannibal; and at another station, where the natives lately met to form a missionary society for the improvement of those islands in the Pacific which are still as wretched as their own once was, a christian chief appeared as an advocate in the cause of religion and humanity, who, in the dark days of heathenism, was a great warrior, and generally appeared with human flesh appended to his shoulder as a badge of honour. "I have lived," said he, "to behold a new and wonderful thing—the gathering together of the people to send the word of the true God. It is true, we formerly used to assemble, but it was either to plan attacks of murder, or to flee from attacks made by the enemy. We then met in fear, with hearts filled with envy and malice, and dared not assemble our wives and our children; but now the darkness has fled, and the light of the true sun has shone upon us, Jesus the Lord from heaven. The spears of our wars are lost, and we hold in our hands the sword of the Spirit, the word of the Lord: we bring with us our wives and children, and feel that our hearts are filled with love one towards another. We not only love those of our own sentiment, but we love all, and are loved by all; and above all, this day we have met to show the

* Missionary Enterprises, p. 574.

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gospel to those who are, as we were, living in darkness, having no God and no hope; this is a new and a wonderful event brought about by the great love of the Almighty."*

It deserves to be mentioned, that the proportion which the number of communicants bears to the large congregations who attend divine service is very small. Indeed, it was not until the missionaries had laboured ten years among the heathen of Cook's Islands that a church, in their sense of the term, was regularly constituted, or any natives admitted to the more solemn sacrament. Even then, not more than six were thought sufficiently instructed to commemorate with due knowledge and devotion the death of the Redeemer. At present, the members may be stated at three hundred, most of whom have been regularly catechised and watched with a vigilant eye by the several ministers, whose cause and character are felt to be at stake. Concerning Ngatangiia, the superintendent writes that the congregation amounts to about eighteen hundred, and that since the formation of the church in 1833, a hundred and sixty-eight baptized persons have been received into its fellowship. Of these, twenty-two have been removed by death, and seven have been sent forth as native teachers. The schools, including those held on Sunday, contain a thousand children; and in the adult seminaries, the number under instruction is three hundred and eighty. At Titikaveka, another station in the same island, the congregation is not less than seven hundred; the children at school are four hundred and ninety, and the adults upwards of two hundred. At Avarua, a third station, the congregation amounts to thirteen hundred; the members to ninety-one; the young pupils are five hundred and ninety-nine; and the older ones are rated at four hundred and ninety. The congregation at Arorangi is given at eleven hundred; the communicants fifty-six; the children under

* Forty-seventh Report of the Missionary Society, for the year 1841, p. 4.

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instruction five hundred and twenty, and the adults four hundred and fifty-five. Similar statements might be given illustrating the progress of divine knowledge and civilisation in Aitutaki, Atiu, Maute, Mangaia, and Mitiaro. In the smaller islands, indeed, all the inhabitants are Christians ; give due heed to the ordinances of religion; and manifest an eager desire to have their children instructed in the principles of their creed, as well as in the arts which minister to the happiness and embellishment of social life.*

The attention of the reader must have been arrested by the fact, that the blessings conveyed to the natives of Polynesia are not confined to benefactions of a purely spiritual nature, but have extended also to commerce, manufactures, and general improvement. It is indeed manifest that, while the missionaries devoted their best energies to the instruction of the people in the truths of the christian faith, they have at the same time been anxious to impart a knowledge of all that is calculated to increase their comforts and elevate their characters. It is maintained, with considerable force of argument, that until a people are brought under the influence of religion, they have no desire for the arts and usages of civilized life. The English teachers were in Otaheite many years, during which they built and furnished houses in the European style ; but though the natives saw these, not one of them imitated the example. As soon, however, as they were brought under the influence of Christianity, the chiefs and even the common people began to erect neat cottages, and to manufacture bedsteads, seats, and other articles suited for domestic accommodation. The females had long observed the dress of the missionaries' wives ; but as long as they continued heathens, they greatly preferred their own, and there was not a single attempt at imitation. No sooner, however, were they converted to the laws of the gospel, than they all aspired to the possession of a gown, a bonnet,

* Forty-fifth Report of the Missionary Society, p. 14-16.

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and a shawl, that they might appear like christian women. In a word, while the islanders were under the influence of their superstitions, they were bound by a feeling of torpor from which no stimulus was found sufficiently powerful to rouse them, until the new ideas were imparted to their minds by European evangelists. Hence there is reason to expect that the experience of a few more years will remove all doubt as to the fact that missionary enterprise is the most effectual means that has ever been employed to advance the social, civil, and commercial, as well as the moral and spiritual interests of mankind.*

All their pursuits, indeed, in their unconverted state, were regulated and inspired by a religious feeling. Even their most atrocious crimes, human sacrifice and infanticide, had a reference to the authority of the gods and the practice of their deified chiefs. The sanction of heaven was supposed to warrant the darkest scenes that clouded the intercourse of their countrymen in their heathen state; hence, when they adopted a new faith, they were prepared by their former association of ideas to admit a change of habits, extending even to dress, food, and habitations. One style of apparel suited the pagan votaress; another was required as more suitable to the christian worshipper.

* Williams' Missionary Enterprises, p. 581.

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CHAPTER VII.

Tonga, Fijee, and Navigators' Islands.

Tonga or Friendly Islands discovered by Tasman—Visited by Cook—Amiable Qualities of the Natives—Improved State of their Country—Conspiracy against Cook—La Perouse, Edwards, and D'Entrecasteaux—The Ship Duff arrives there in 1797—Missionaries landed—Intrigues of Connelly, Ambler, and Morgan—Generous Conduct of Moomooe—The Chiefs Finou and Mytyle—The Duff leaves the Islands—Death and Funeral of Moomooe—Toogahowe protects the Preachers—Ambler and Morgan—Details relative to Inhabitants—Warlike Habits derived from the Fijees—Civil War, Toogahowe murdered—Character of Toobo Nuha, and of Finou his Brother—Speech of Young Finou—Attack made upon Missionaries—Error as to the Number killed—Friendly Islands visited by Williams—Declaration of Finou—Wesleyan Missionaries had already begun their Labours—Arrangement with those of the London Society—Fijees a distinct Race from the Friendly Islanders—Christianity introduced—Cannibalism—A native Feast—Navigators' Islands discovered by Bougainville—Visited by La Perouse, and by Kotzebue—Incidents mentioned by the latter—These Islands extremely important—Exertions of the Chief Fauea—Progress of the Missionaries—Conduct of Malietoa—Motives of Conversion—Number of professed Christians—Beneficial Effects of the Gospel.

It must be considered entirely as a matter of convenience on what principle the numerous islands in this part of the South Sea shall be distributed; for, except the date of discovery, there is no particular in which one cluster can be said to differ from another. The Tonga, the Fijee, and the Navigators', for example, are so closely

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associated in regard to position and physical character, that it seems impossible to assign any other reason why they should not all be considered as one group, than that they have been variously named by successive visiters.

Following the usual arrangement of geographers, we shall begin with the Friendly Islands, the principal members of which, it is well known, were discovered by Tasman, a Dutch seaman, in the year 1643, and afterwards more minutely examined by Captain Cook. In the eyes of both these distinguished voyagers the inhabitants of Tongataboo appeared extremely amiable and generous, whence originated the complimentary epithet applied by the Englishman to their country. The former, seeing no arms among them, was thereby induced to believe that the reign of peace must have been for ever undisturbed in those happy regions; an impression which a more minute acquaintance with their habits and the course of subsequent events have altogether removed. On grounds equally fallacious, Tasman concluded that, being ignorant of all religion, they were strangers to the practice of worship in any one of its forms. He saw no temples, no idols, no priests; but observed that they had a devout veneration for the serpent-brood. One of them took up a water-snake, and with great reverence put it upon his head, and afterwards replaced it in the sea. They seem, indeed, to have carried their respect for life so far as not to kill even a fly, though these insects were exceedingly numerous, proving an actual plague to the island. It is stated that the natives had made considerable progress in agriculture; that the ground was divided into portions of a regular shape, where fields and gardens were neatly laid out; and that the latter were filled with plants and trees, which, besides being pleasing to the eye, diffused a delightful odour.*

* Tasman's Voyage is described in Dalrymple's Historical Collection of Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean, vol. ii. p. 63. His relation is derived from the work of Vallentyn, who is supposed to have had access to Tasman's original Journal.

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After the long interval of one hundred and thirty years, Tongataboo was visited by Cook, who, as he could profit little by the labours of his predecessor, may be said to have discovered it. During this period the inhabitants had divested themselves of the peculiarities ascribed to them by the Dutchman, for they were found in possession at once of arms and of idols. Our countryman relates, that almost immediately after he landed, he was conducted along a lane which led to an open green, on one side of which was a house of worship, built on a mount that had been raised by the hand of man, about sixteen or eighteen feet above the common level. It had an oblong figure, and was enclosed by a wall or parapet of stone about three feet in height, from which wall the mount rose with a gentle slope, and was covered with a green turf. On the top of it stood the house, which had the same figure as the tumulus, and was about twenty feet in length, and fourteen or sixteen broad. The floor was laid with fine gravel; except in the middle, where there was a parallelogram of blue pebbles raised about six inches above the surface. In a corner stood an image rudely carved in wood, and on one side lay another; each about two feet long. The ceremonies which were performed by persons clothed with the attributes of priests, ought to have left no doubt on the mind of the navigator that the figures which he saw were meant to represent the powers of invisible beings; but observing that they were handled with little respect by those who frequented the house which their presence was meant to sanctify, he remained undecided as to the real purpose of these carved logs.

Leaving this consecrated place, Cook was conducted into the country on a road sixteen feet in width, and as level as a bowling-green, enclosed with neat fences made of reeds, and shaded from the scorching sun by fruit-trees. He felt as if transported into the most fertile

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The island called by the natives Tongataboo, or Sacred Tonga, was by Tasman denominated Amsterdam. See also Burney's Historical Discoveries, vol. iii. p. 84.

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plains of Europe. There was not an inch of waste ground; the paths occupied no more space than was absolutely necessary; the fences did not take up above four inches each; and even this was not wholly lost, for in many were planted some useful trees or plants. It was every where the same; change of place altered not the scene. Nature, assisted by a little art, nowhere appears in more splendour than at this isle. Here were found the richest productions of the Southern Pacific, bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, plantains, bananas, shaddocks, yams, sugar-cane, and a fruit like a nectarine. Tonga-taboo, in short, enjoys most of the commodities which can be procured at the Society Islands, and many which these have not.*

In the year 1777, Cook again visited the Friendly Islands, and conferred upon the inhabitants several benefactions which their intentions towards him did not in any degree merit. In fact, they had deliberately planned a conspiracy against him, which would infallibly have been put in execution, if the chiefs had not quarrelled about the exact mode of making the assault. It was proposed to invite the adventurer and his officers to a dance by torch-light, and, upon a given signal, to massacre him, together with all his company and soldiers. But the principal leader objected to this plan, as the darkness of the night would be unfavourable to their operations in taking the two vessels, and proposed rather that it should be done by day, on the occasion of a grand entertainment which was shortly to be given to the navigator in honour of his arrival. It was farther arranged, that those of his men who would naturally come in search of him, being conducted to the farther part of the island, under pretence that he was there, should be destroyed in like manner. The two ships, thus weakened by the diminution of their crews, might, they thought, be easily taken, and a large accession thereby made to the power of the ruling faction. The banquet was accordingly pre-

* Voyage towards the South Pole, vol. i. p. 201-213.

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pared, and Captain Cook, with several of his subalterns, was present. But a difference of opinion again arising as to the most suitable moment for perpetrating the murder, the king gave orders that it should not be attempted. The amusements went on without interruption, and the visiters, who were much pleased with the liberality of their hosts, acknowledge that the festivities exceeded any they had hitherto received at the Friendly Islands.*

Between the period now under consideration and the arrival of the Duff, the Tonga group appears to have been visited by La Perouse, who merely touched on the coast; by Captain Edwards of the Pandora, when in search of the mutineers; and by D'Entrecasteaux, who anchored at the principal island in the spring of 1793. Tongataboo was considered by the Directors of the Missionary Society as a desirable station for their benevolent labours, chiefly on account of its connexion with the numerous clusters in the neighbourhood, most of which acknowledge it as the seat of government, and as invested with a certain species of supreme power. It was observed, besides, as a ground of preference, that the islets of which the sovereignty is composed stretch in the direction of north and south; a circumstance which, when viewed with reference to the trade-winds, was at once perceived to afford at all seasons a practicable communication from one to another. These reasons, combined with others of not less weight, gave birth to a resolution on the part of the leading missionaries to establish some of their brethren among a people whose mild dispositions were already celebrated throughout Europe, and whose mental endowments were pronounced to be of a higher order than those of any other Polynesians.

In April 1797, accordingly, the Duff, which had sailed from Otaheite, arrived on the coast of Tongataboo, where her decks were soon covered with crowds of natives, eager to dispose of their commodities. The articles offered

* Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, vol. i. p. 309-336.

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for barter consisted as usual of hogs, bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, yams, spears, and clubs, besides other pieces of ingenious manufacture. But their demands were so high that little was purchased; while, to the confusion of both parties, it was discovered that the people of the Society Islands, some of whom were on board, could not understand the language of their western neighbours. It had been supposed by certain authors, that there was only one dialect among the inhabitants of the Southern Pacific; later investigations, however, have proved that the aborigines of the Fijee Archipelago, with whom the Friendly tribes have constant intercourse, use a form of speech quite different from that which prevails among the families of the windward groups. A chief presented himself to the captain of the English ship, asserting that he possessed great power in the country, and added, that some white men had taken refuge in his dominions. Two of these individuals, who also soon made their appearance, proved to be Benjamin Ambler and John Connelly, the one a native of London, and the other of Cork, and both runaway convicts from New South Wales.*

From the former of these persons Wilson learned, that the chief who had visited him presided over all the eastern part of the island, but that another, named Tibo Moomooe, who was generally considered the king, intended to come on board in a day or two. Hearing that this ruler was celebrated for humanity to his subjects and hospitality to strangers, the captain apprized Ambler of the object of his voyage to those remote shores, and requested his opinion as to the expediency of establishing a mission. To this the other replied, that the natives would certainly receive them gladly, and even treat them with kindness; but with respect to the security of

* "They were convicts who escaped from Port Jackson in the same vessel with Mr Muir the Jacobin. They were recognised by several of Captain Garden's crew, whom he brought from Port Jackson in the Mercury, and appear to have arrived at Tonga in March 1796."—Greathead's MS. Notes. Campbell's Maritime Discovery, p. 315.

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any kind of moveable goods, he could give him no assurance. Connelly, who seemed to speak with greater openness, did not conceal that their lives also would be in danger, if it were found that they possessed iron tools, and, on any occasion, attempted to defend themselves against private robbers, a class of men, it was admitted, nearly commensurate in number with all the male inhabitants of the island. As to a house, they had no doubt that Tibo would give them a suitable one, and would, moreover, so far as his influence extended, protect their bodies from violence, and their property from depredation; hinting, at the same time, that their chance of a comfortable maintenance would be the greater, if they separated, and placed themselves in different parts of the country, under the eye of subordinate chiefs.

The assurances now given were afterwards confirmed by Moomooe himself, who, when on board the Duff, was informed that the men who had been brought from England to live with him, would teach his people all the useful arts, and other things of much more importance to their welfare. The generous savage replied, that he not only acquiesced in the proposal for their residence in his dominions, but would also make a proper provision for their comfort. He assured them, that for the present they should have a dwelling near his own, until one more suitable, with a portion of land attached to it, could be provided; that he would take care neither their persons nor property should receive the slightest molestation; and that if they did not like the situation of their residence, he would give orders to have another prepared in a more convenient locality. Upon going ashore, the brethren found within an enclosure of a few acres five houses, the largest of which was intended for themselves. It was thirty-six feet long, twenty broad, with a roof fifteen feet high in the middle, resting upon wooden pillars. The floor was raised about a foot, and covered with thick clean matting.

The missionaries, finding that the majority of the chiefs, with the larger portion of the people, resided at

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the western end of the island, expressed a desire to place themselves under the protection of Finou Toogahowe, brother of the ruler who made so favourable an impression on Captain Cook; and with this view they despatched Ambler to make a proposal for their settling on his lands. Meanwhile the pompous personage who had favoured the ship with the first visit, entreated that five of the teachers should be stationed on his territory; a request with which, as they were unwilling to separate from each other, they respectfully declined to comply. In the course of the same day, the English envoy arrived on board with Finou, who had already agreed to take all the brethren under his care, and to bestow upon them a house surrounded by a large portion of land. He was the most powerful chief as well as the greatest warrior in Tongataboo, and it was expected that on the death of Moomooe he would be formally chosen king of the whole country. Lest any mistake should have arisen from misconception or fraud on the part of Ambler, the captain requested that Toogahowe would repeat, in the presence of the missionaries, his promise to defend them from all danger, and likewise to supply a suitable maintenance. Mr Wilson therefore recited anew every particular of the conditions to which it was understood he had given his assent. The morose barbarian, who seemed to understand the greater part of what was said, looked as if he felt that his veracity was called in question, and answered somewhat haughtily, that if they chose to land, they might live in his district in what manner they pleased; that no one should be allowed to hurt them; and that he would without delay send a double canoe, which should take them and their effects ashore.

This negotiation was hardly completed, when Ambler told the captain that an intention was formed to massacre him and all his crew. The conspiracy, it was alleged, comprehended all the men in eight double canoes of the largest size, as well as hundreds more, whose means of attack were less formidable. In such circumstances, though little reliance could be placed on the good faith of the

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informer, measures of precaution were immediately adopted. All the natives were turned out of the ship except Toogahowe and his personal attendants; the small arms were laid in readiness for use; the great guns were loaded with grape, and every man was placed at his quarters. The truth of the representation was never ascertained, though appearances fully justified all the steps which were taken. In the canoes which surrounded the ship there were not fewer than three thousand warriors, all armed with clubs or spears; a force against which, had an attack been suddenly commenced, the utmost resistance which could have been made by a small body of undisciplined sailors must have been found altogether unavailing.

On the 12th April, the brethren landed, not without some apprehension of danger to life and property. No sooner had they reached the shore than their luggage was surrounded by a hundred of the natives, whose suspicious motions might be traced either to curiosity or a desire to steal, both equally characteristic of the savage state. Mytyle, a chief whose authority could not be resisted in that quarter, ordered the chests to be removed into a house; menacing the covetous crowd with the severest punishment should any one of them, during the ensuing night, disturb the repose of the strangers. On the afternoon of the 14th, the last boatful of goods was landed, at which juncture the missionaries reported that all was well, and that the people appeared kindly disposed towards them. The captain then took an affectionate leave of his friends, promising, if possible, to remain on the coast till the following morning; but a heavy gale at an early hour compelled him to leave the vicinity of the reefs and stand out into the depth of the ocean. The christian ministers watched her labouring amid the waves, till she disappeared from their view in the distant horizon. A feeling of sadness then arose, and some tears of regret fell from their eyes, whilst they looked around upon the island on which they had been left, far distant from the regions of civilized life, as the

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scene where they were to pass their days, and probably encounter a premature death. This, they said to each other, "is the ground where our bodies will moulder to dust; this we must now look upon as our country and our grave. But there were ten of us in company, all social and friendly, all attached to each other, all of similar sentiment, all at this time united in love and zeal for our Divine Master, and all glowing with an earnest desire to convey the blessing of his inestimable and glorious gospel to the friendly but heathen inhabitants around us."*

The missionaries were not long resident in the island before they had an opportunity of witnessing, in their most appalling form, the horrors of the native superstition. Moomooe, the sovereign chief, being on his death-bed, a young man, son of the king himself, was strangled in the presence of his parent, not so much with the view of appeasing the angry spirit who is supposed to cut the thread of life, as to transfer to the patient a portion of the vigour which belonged to the victim whose days were thus brought to a close. But this sacrifice proved unavailing, for the disease under which the old monarch laboured was destined to complete its work. Immense preparations for the funeral immediately followed; the people flocking from all quarters with hogs, fruit, cloth, spears, and clubs. The christian teachers, in whose vicinity this pageant was set forth, relate that the exhibition began with loud shouting and the blowing of conch shells, when speedily about a hundred men appeared armed with clubs and spears. These infatuated wretches cut and mangled themselves in the most barbarous manner; many struck their heads with their weapons so violently that the blows were heard at a great distance;

* Missionary Voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean in the ship Duff, p. 102-112. Campbell's Maritime Discovery and Christian Missions, p. 302. The latter author trusts chiefly for his materials to the narrative contained in the Missionary Voyage, aided by a reference to journals kept by the teachers themselves, published in their several Magazines and Registers.

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and this operation was repeated till the blood ran down in torrents. Others thrust their lances with savage ferocity through their thighs, arms, and cheeks, calling out all the while in the most piteous accents the name of the deceased king. A native of the Fijee Islands, who had been one of the royal servants, appeared quite frantic. He stepped forward with fire on his head, and having previously oiled his hair, he applied a torch to it, and ran about with the upper part of his body enveloped in flames. When wearied with these various torments, they sat down, and beat their faces with their fists. A second party at length relieved them in the arena where this frightful scene was exhibited, advancing with furious shouts and the sounding of shells. Four who occupied the front rank held stones in their hands, with which they knocked out their teeth, while the others lacerated their heads in a manner frightful to behold. One who had a spear thrust it through his arm a little above the elbow, and with the weapon thus suspended in his flesh, he ran wildly about as if courting applause. A principal chief acted as if quite bereft of his senses; rushing to every corner of the fiatooka, at each station he smote his head with a club till the blood flowed in streams down his shoulders. On that dreadful day, in short, respect for the deceased ruler was measured by torture and death; the appalling spectacle being concluded by the murder of his two wives. Of these females, devoted to strangulation at the grave of their late husband, it is remarked, that the one wept as she walked along, while the other seemed a personification of cold indifference.

These deeds of heathen darkness and cruelty were renewed on the following day; the space round the tomb being converted into a theatre for savage gladiators. Before the period of mourning was ended, thousands engaged in personal conflict, which frequently terminated in death to one or both of the parties. During several weeks, the horrid blast of the conch shell, night after night, summoned the infuriated combatants to a renewal

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of their murderous contests; and the missionaries relate, that the piercing shrieks, the clashing of arms, and the rushing of the excited multitude, rendered their place of residence a scene of continual terror and disgust.*

Toogahowe, who was elected to the rank of chief governor, continued his protection to the missionaries, which became still more necessary to them, as they were soon afterwards assailed by the violence and threatenings of the unprincipled Europeans who had preceded them in their arrival at Tongataboo. On one occasion, these ruffians used in their hearing the most fearful imprecations; vowing that they would stir up the natives against them, and procure the murder of every individual. Intimidated by these menaces, which would probably have been realized, and finding that, from their continuing to live together, apart from the great body of the people, they had made very small progress in acquiring a knowledge of their language, they came to the resolution of separating, and of taking up their abode at the residence of different chiefs. The plan received, though not without some reluctance, the approval of the king; and the teachers, accordingly, retiring from this station, on the improvement of which they had bestowed considerable labour, went to the dwellings of their respective friends.

On the 19th August, the Duff, which had made a voyage to the Marquesas, returned to the Friendly Islands, bringing from Otaheite some seasonable supplies to the christian brethren at Tongataboo. To deliver them from the machinations of Ambler and his associates, the captain resolved to take these fugitive convicts on board his ship; an arrangement to which they, in the first instance, readily acceded. But when the hour of

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* Missionary Voyage, p. 239-444. From the Journal of the brethren, it appears that intoxication was employed to add to the natural ferocity of the savage character. A gross festivity accompanied all their demonstrations of sorrow; observances in which the Polynesians closely resembled the more celebrated barbarians of ancient Greece and Rome, and perhaps of our own people at no distant period.

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departure arrived, they were not to be found, having made their escape into the interior. Connelly was seized and put into the hands of Captain Wilson; the two others, one of whom was the convict Morgan, who had joined the agitators, were after a brief space put to death for crimes against the public peace. The missionaries now resumed their duties without fear or interruption. Brothers Buchanan and Gaulton were stationed at Mooa, the residence of Futtafaihe, which is described by one of the seamen in these terms:—"Proceeding from the lagoon about a quarter of a mile through fenced lanes, a spacious square green, about half a furlong wide, presents itself, at the further end of which the dwelling stands. On the same green, which is as smooth as if rolled, a few large spreading trees grow in an irregular disposition, which add much to the beauty of the scene. On the east side is a neat fence enclosing the long grove where the fiatookas stand; on the west are the dwellings of different chiefs in their enclosures; and along the north or lower side of the square the great road runs from the one end of the island to the other. This road is in general about six or seven yards wide, but eastward from the green, and for half a mile, it is not less than sixty yards wide. In this part there is a range of trees as large and spreading as the largest English oaks; and as their branches meet at the top and quite exclude the sun's rays, a pleasant walk is afforded by their shade."*

The impression made upon the minds of the missionaries in regard to the character of the inhabitants, was at first extremely favourable; answering to the most flattering representation that the world has ever received of it, and justifying the epithet applied to their islands by the immortal Cook, who, as we have mentioned, considered them greatly superior to all other Polynesians. They possess, we are assured, many excellent qualities, which, were they enlightened with the knowledge of the gospel, would render them the most amiable

* Missionary Voyage, p. 285.

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people on earth. Their bounty to strangers is great, and their liberality to one another is unequalled. Their honesty in domestic transactions is unimpeachable, though, towards foreigners, it is admitted, the same virtue loses part of its energy and exactness. The murder of children and other horrid practices which prevail at Otaheite are unknown at Tongataboo. Polygamy is common among the chiefs, who, in the number of their wives, know no limits but their own fancy and the means of maintaining their establishments. In all ranks of society the conduct of the women would be pronounced decorous, even if measured by a European standard; the exceptions being so rare as not to attract the notice of a stranger, or give offence to the most refined sentiments of morality. The deepest stain on the character of the people is their love of war, which is too frequently gratified by engaging in civil broils when their arms are not occupied against a more distant enemy.

It has been already stated, that at the time when Captain Cook visited the Tonga group belligerent habits were little known to the natives. The only quarrels in which they had ever embarked were with the inhabitants of the Fijee Islands; for, being in the practice of visiting them for sandal-wood, they occasionally took a side with one or other of the contending parties into which those restless savages were almost constantly divided. From them they speedily learned to make bows and arrows of a much more destructive kind than any with which they had been previously acquainted, and also to wield the spear, which was not unfrequently used as a missile weapon with the most deadly effect. A certain chief, named Tooi Halai Fatai, having in the course of successive voyages contracted the warlike propensity of his neighbours, became tired of the peaceful life he led at home, and therefore determined to repair thither in company with a number of young men of the same adventurous disposition. At the head of two hundred and fifty of such unquiet spirits he performed among the Fijees various exploits which tended not less to exalt

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his name as a gallant leader than to increase his wealth as a successful freebooter.

Events soon afterwards occurred in his own country which gave full scope to his enterprising genius both in the field and in the council. Toogahowe, who had some time previously mounted the throne, held the reins of government in a manner little satisfactory to the people at large; and some acts of tyranny, which extended to the higher class of his subjects, led in the first instance to a general insurrection, and finally to a complete revolution in all parts of his dominions. The leader of the rebellion was Toobo Nuha, brother of Finou, the ruler of the Hapai Islands, and himself the tributary sovereign of Vavaoo. The murder of the king by the hand of the insurgent was the signal for war, which was carried on during a considerable period with great ferocity and various success. Toobo, a brave soldier, was a mere tool in the hand of his more thoughtful relative, whose ambition, though of the most aspiring nature, always proved subservient to a profound diplomacy which determined all his actions.

The character of this remarkable man is well described by one of Cook's officers, in whose time he had already risen above the surface of ordinary life, and displayed tokens of the high views as well as great talents by which he was afterwards distinguished. He appeared then to be about twenty-five years of age, a tall, handsome man. He had much fire and vivacity, with a degree of wildness in his countenance that well tallied with the idea of an Indian warrior, and he was, besides, one of the most active men ever seen in those regions. The western part of Tongataboo, with Anamooka, and all the islands to the northward, were under his jurisdiction. But what gave him more consequence was his spirit, activity, and his post as general. Whenever the nation went to war, they were headed by him. His followers were numerous, and more attached to him than those of any other chief; in short, he was the most popular man in the Tonga group. Nevertheless, with all his good qualities, he was tainted with

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a degree of rapaciousness which made him guilty of actions bordering on meanness and dishonesty, perpetrated, however, it has been alleged in his defence, solely with the view of acquiring the means of gaining adherents and rewarding his friends.*

In the pursuit of undivided sovereignty he consented to the assassination of his brother, to whose bravery and attachment he was indebted for the larger portion of his power. This charge, though it could not be fully established, is the darkest which clouds his memory in his own land, as well as in foreign countries; and the sufferings which imbittered the closing period of his life were, there is reason to believe, regarded by himself as a manifestation of the Divine anger. He was succeeded by a son, who bore the same name, which, indeed, was official rather than personal, and who, at his accession, made a speech to the assembled patricians, the friends and the foes of his house, which would have done honour to a more enlightened country. "Listen to me, chiefs and warriors! If any among you are discontented with the present state of affairs, now is the time to go to Hapai; for no man shall remain at Vavaoo with a mind discontented and wandering to other places. I have seen with sorrow the wide destruction occasioned by the unceasing war carried on by the chief now lying in the malai. We have, indeed, been doing a great deal, but what is the result? The land is depopulated; it is overgrown with weeds, and there is nobody to cultivate it. Had we re-

* Quarterly Review, vol. xviii. p. 8. The editor states that he is in possession of the Journal from which this description is taken. In reference to Mariner's account of the Tonga Islands, the same gentleman remarks, "little did Finou imagine when, in directing the massacre of the ship's crew, he gave orders to spare a boy whose appearance and youth had excited his compassion, that by that boy's means his life and actions would be made known throughout the civilized world, and perhaps to the latest posterity; for Finou is not one of those men whose history is forgotten as soon as read;—his character is strongly marked and prominent;—and is one of those which in future ages will stand alone for remembrance." The boy here alluded to was Mariner himself.

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mained peaceful, it would have been populous still. The principal chiefs and warriors are fallen, and we must be contented with the society of the lower class. What madness! Is not life already too short? Is it not a noble characteristic in a man to remain happy and peaceful in his station? What folly then to seek for war, to shorten that which is already too short! Have we not been acting then like those who have no understanding? Have we not been madly seizing the very thing which deprives us of what we really want? Not that we ought to banish all thoughts of fighting. If any power approach us with the front of battle, and attempt to invade our rights, our bravery shall be more excited in proportion as we have more possessions to defend. Let us then confine ourselves to agriculture, for that is truly guarding our country. Why should we be anxious for an increase of territory? Our land is quite large enough to supply us with food; we shall not ever be able to consume all its produce. But perhaps I am not speaking to you wisely. The old matabooles (councillors) are present; I beg them to tell me if I am wrong. I am yet but a youth, and on that account should be unfit to govern, if my mind, like that of the deceased chief, sought not the advice of others. For your loyalty and fidelity towards him, however, I return you my sincere thanks. Finou Fijee, who is present, and the matabooles know well my frequent inquiries concerning the good of our government. Do not then say 'why do we listen to the idle talk of a boy?' Recollect whilst I speak to you, my voice is the echo of the sentiments of Toe Oomoo, and Ooloovaloo, and Afoo, and Fotoo, and Alo, and all the high chiefs of Vavaoo. Listen to me! I remind you, that if there be any among you discontented with this state of affairs, the present is the only opportunity I will give you to depart. Choose, therefore, your dwelling-places. There is Fijee, there is Hamoa, there is Tonga, there is Hapai, there is Fotoona, and Latooma! The men who have unanimous sentiments, and who love to dwell in constant peace—they

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alone shall remain at Vavaoo and its neighbouring isles. Yet will I not suppress the bravery of our warlike spirit. Behold! the islands of Tonga and Fijee are constantly at war. Let him there display his courage. Arise, go to your respective habitations; and recollect that to-morrow the canoes depart for Hapai."*

From these details of military and political affairs, we willingly allow ourselves to be recalled to the more important subject of religion, which for a time made slow progress among the people of Tonga. The missionaries, it has already been seen, were opposed by three Europeans, who dreaded their influence among the natives, or envied the possession of their small property. Allusion has been made to the fate of these unprincipled men, all of whom were known to be criminals who had escaped from the penal settlement in Australia; but we are indebted for several particulars to Mariner, who received his information from the mouth of the king himself, to whom the young sailor had previously owed his life. He related, that some years before the capture of the Port au Prince, which took place in 1806, on the arrival of an English vessel, one of the white men, whose name was Morgan, chose to live among them. For a considerable period he continued on good terms with the natives, and was also much respected by the chiefs.

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* An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands, in the South Pacific Ocean, &c., compiled and arranged from the extensive communications of Mr William Mariner, several years resident in those Islands. By John Martin, M. B. (2 vols 12mo, third edition, Lond. 1827), vol. i. p. 323. By "the 'chief now lying in the *malai* or marai,' the orator meant his own father, whose passion for war he repeatedly deplores. At a repast to which he invited the chiefs after the assembly broke up, he again adverted to the advantages of agriculture,—the happiness of cultivating land for one's own food, and of eating the produce of one's own labour. 'You do not know,' says he, 'how much pleasure such men feel when they view the work of their own hands thriving daily; and whilst eating, when they reflect that their labour has been repaid by the increase of their stores. Therefore let us apply ourselves to agriculture. Follow my example; I will order a piece of ground to be cleared, and during the next rain, I will assist in planting it with *hiabo*.' "

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At length there came another European ship (the Duff with the missionaries), and from her also there landed several white men, who voluntarily took up their residence in the island. These last, he added, built a house, in which they often shut themselves up, to sing and perform ceremonies, as he expressed it. After a space, a quarrel ensued between Morgan and them, first about an iron pot which he wanted to borrow, and then about some pigs which they said he had stolen from them. Upon this, they gave information that he had been a bad man in his own country, and was under sentence of banishment for his crimes. The convict, in his turn, told the chiefs who the preachers were, saying that they were men sent out by the King of England to bring a pestilence on the people of Tonga, and that they accordingly concealed themselves in their house to perform witchcraft, and make incantations, which was the cause of the dreadful disease then raging, and that their books contained nothing but rules of sorcery. The leaders began to take this statement into serious consideration. There could be no doubt that there was a great mortality among them; the white men often assembled and sang very loud; on which occasions they would not allow any of the Tonga people to be present. The chiefs said to one another, if these strangers are doing no harm, why do they not permit us to witness their proceedings? We do not conceal our ceremonies from them, why do they not expose theirs to us? Morgan, availing himself of the suspicions which he had excited, remarked that they might with their own eyes see the effect of the incantations of which he told them; "several of you are dying every day; by and by you will be all cut off, and the King of England will take possession of your islands, for although you have the remedy in your power, you will not make use of it." This argument prevailed; they rushed upon the white men, and killed all but three who were under the protection of Veachi, a person of great influence.*

* Mariner's Tonga Islands, vol. i. p. 73.

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Such was the cause of the hard fate which befell the missionaries, as related by Finou to Mariner, who afterwards heard the same facts repeated by other chiefs. He inquired what ultimately became of the three who resided with Veachi, and was informed that they were killed during a civil war. It was mentioned that they might have made their escape in company with some natives who invited them into a canoe about to proceed to another island; but they chose to remain, assigning as a reason that as they had not quarrelled with any of the people, they incurred no danger of being attacked. The others reminded them, however, that it was the Tonga custom not only to kill an enemy, but also, if possible, all his friends and relations; to which the three missionaries replied, that as they had done no harm, and meant no harm, their God would protect them. At this moment, concludes the narrator, a party of natives, who were lying in wait in a neighbouring thicket, rushed out and killed them with their spears.

This narrative, though probably correct as to the motives whence the hostile feeling against the missionaries arose, is inaccurate with respect to the number of the brethren who suffered death. The ten stationed by Captain Wilson at Tongataboo, in 1797, remained at their posts two years, without any molestation, and, indeed, were not disturbed till the breaking out of the civil war already described, when three of their number were barbarously murdered. The others, after being plundered of their property, saved their lives by flight to a different part of the island, whence they were at length removed to New South Wales, by the captain of a merchantman, who touched at Tonga on his voyage from Otaheite to Port Jackson.

In the year 1830, the Friendly Islands were visited by Mr Williams, who had the good fortune to meet at Lefooga the younger Finou, whose speech we have quoted. Being informed by the zealous teacher that he and his companions were missionaries who had laboured many years in the Otaheitan and Society Isles, the in-

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habitants of which had derived great advantage from their instructions, he was asked whether he would receive an individual, properly recommended, who, it was hoped, would prove a blessing to him and his people. The king listened with great attention, and replied by saying, that the persons who were formerly sent endeavoured to instruct him and his people, but they would not be taught; when the preachers, finding all their efforts ineffectual, ceased to make them, and at length became as bad as themselves. As to receiving the new teacher, he said he would speak his sentiments freely and not deceive any one. If he were placed at Vavaoo, he would protect him, but he would neither embrace Christianity himself, nor allow his people to become converts; on the contrary, he declared he would put to death the first person, man or woman, who should desert the ancient belief. The missionaries did not deem it proper to argue the point of expediency with this imperious chieftain, but contented themselves with expressing their regret that he should so resolutely oppose the reception of so great a blessing.

They found, indeed, upon inquiry, that the conduct of Finou had in most cases accorded too exactly with his fearful menaces. Many of the inhabitants of Vavaoo, including some of the chiefs, had left that island and proceeded to Lefooga, in order to enjoy the advantages of evangelical instruction. In the latter place, they were found in a state of comparative poverty and degradation; a change of circumstances to which they willingly submitted rather than renounce the benefits of Christianity. Notwithstanding these discouragements, it was gratifying to learn, that nearly a hundred persons had become candidates for the ordinance of baptism, and were under a course of instruction preparatory to its administration. Many others had made known their intention of relinquishing idolatry, and of taking their place among the professors of the gospel, though, under the government of a ruler so decidedly opposed to any change of faith,

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they found it necessary to proceed with the utmost circumspection.

After the murder and expulsion of the missionaries who had been landed by the Duff at Tongataboo, the pastoral care of the few converts on that island seems to have been exercised by a native teacher. At a later period, some of the Wesleyan brethren debarked on the coast, whom the people invited to labour among them, not being aware of any distinction of sects or denominations; hence when the author of the Enterprises arrived at the Friendly group, he found that the members of the London Society had been superseded by evangelists of another class, whose forms, and perhaps their principles, were somewhat different. It is said, that when they entered upon their duties, they saw not only a comfortable station prepared for them, but also a commodious chapel, with three or four hundred persons desirous to receive their instructions; a state of things resulting almost entirely from the exertions of a converted pagan, who zealously communicated to his idolatrous neighbours the precious knowledge which he had received from the unfortunate brethren who had been betrayed by Morgan. As the Wesleyans were in possession of the Tonga Archipelago, it was arranged that they should continue to occupy it as their appropriate field: and as the Fijees, whose language and political institutions are similar, were at no great distance, it was farther agreed that their ministerial cares should be extended to both these provinces.

Good reasons are assigned for this distribution of islands, as well as for the separation of missionaries, who, though their object was one, proceeded by different paths towards the attainment of it. The natives, who would at once have perceived a difference in the modes of worship, must have had their attention divided, and their notions obscured. Being naturally of an inquisitive disposition, they would, without doubt, have demanded a reason for every little deviation from the usual method; and the

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explanations first from one side and then from the other, would almost necessarily have led to evils greatly to be deplored in an infant society of believers. There would, moreover, have been another inconvenience in the case now under consideration, had both sects resolved to pursue their labours in common, for the Wesleyans, in their elementary books for the education of their converts, had adopted a different alphabet and orthography.*

The missionaries have had an opportunity of confirming the opinion held by others, that the soil of Tongataboo is very rich, and that large tracts of land were formerly under cultivation. Groves of the banana and mountain plantain every where meet the eye. The fruit of these trees forms an important part of the food of all the Friendly Islanders; and the Tongatabooans surpass most of their neighbours in the cultivation of it. But the repeated civil wars to which allusion has been made, by diminishing the number of the inhabitants, were followed by the abandonment of several fine districts, now with-

* Mr Williams states, that the Wesleyans pursued the plan of giving christian names to all whom they baptized. "The queen they call *Mary* Tupou, and the king *Jeremiah* Tupou. The American missionaries at the Sandwich Islands and the Church missionaries of New Zealand have done the same. This appears to us the introduction of a new feature into the Polynesian language, which its genius does not admit, and to which there is nothing analogous. It may be said, that many of the natives have two names, as *Tupou-totai* of Tongataboo, *Makea-nui* of Rarotonga, and a variety of others. But these are mere appendages to the name descriptive of the office or occupation of the individual: *totai* added to Tupou's name is literally the sailor; *nui* to Makea is literally the great, answering to the appellations Necho and Epiphanes, which were appended to the names of Pharaoh, Antiochus, and others. Now we should not think of prefixing a christian name to that of Pharaoh, and calling him *Jeremiah* Pharaoh, or to that of Cleopatra, and calling her *Elizabeth* Cleopatra, as the missionaries to whom I have referred have done. There is also a native dignity in the name itself, which is lost when thus associated; and as the idiom of this language will not admit such an incongruous combination of terms, I do sincerely hope that all the missionaries will use every effort to transmit it to posterity pure, simple, and beautiful as they found it."—*Narrative of Missionary Enterprises*, p. 307.

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out either occupants or culture. Should the gospel be finally established, peace will soon extend its benign influence from shore to shore; the population will rapidly increase; and the fertile fields, now lying waste, will once more display abundant crops to the eyes of an innocent peasantry.

It is quite unnecessary to fatigue the attention of the reader by a minute description of Eooa, Anamooka, or any other inferior member of the group. They are known to have been discovered by Tasman, and visited by our great navigator, whose description of them contains all that is deserving of notice as to their climate and productions. Of the former isle, he remarks, that it resembles Tongataboo, but exceeds it in respect of salubrity, pleasantness of situation, and goodness of fresh water.*

Greater attention might be claimed for the Fijees, were we equally well acquainted with the manners and political constitution of the inhabitants, who are obviously of a race quite distinct from the natives of the Friendly and Society Islands. They belong to the black tribes who occupy Borneo, New Guinea, the Solomons, New Hebrides, and other groups which stretch between the hundred and tenth degree of east longitude and the prime meridian. In knowledge of some of the arts, and perhaps in general civilisation, they had, when first discovered, outstripped the natives of Tonga, who are represented by voyagers as being at once less ingenious and less warlike. With strong indications of negro ferocity, they combine some of the worst habits which disgrace the whole population of the Southern Pacific, especially the horrible practice of eating their enemies, now abhorred by all the fairer-skinned families of the

* There is a small island called Tofoaa, chiefly remarkable for a volcano, situated near its northern extremity, from which smoke almost constantly issues, and pumice-stones are very frequently thrown. It was visited by Mariner, who found that the crater was about thirty feet in diameter, whence sundry explosions were heard like the noise of water thrown upon burning pitch.—Vol. i. p. 207.

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windward clusters. They are remarkable, too, for suspicion and vigilance; hence, in the Friendly Islands, the expression is proverbial, to be "*toto boto*, like the Fijee people," that is, to be possessed of policy and caution in the presence of an enemy. Of their origin, or the period at which they removed to their present habitation, nothing is known; but the old men at Tonga, who pretend not to give any account of the discovery of the islands, assert that their ancestors were accustomed to visit them before the woolly race arrived from the west.

The progress of Christianity has not been rapid among the savages of the Fijee group, whose habits are so entirely alien to the spirit of the gospel. It is true that the Wesleyan missionaries were allowed to form a station at some of the islands under the protection of the local chiefs, who appeared not unwilling that their people should profit by the superior attainments of the white men. Certain individuals who had been converted at Lefooga, invited the brethren to extend the benefits of the gospel to their countrymen; and hence, at various times, small colonies of Christians have hazarded all the dangers, by land and by water, which are found inseparable from such an undertaking. In the year 1836, the reverend W. Cross and David Cargill, with their families, sailed thither from the Hapais, and, arriving at Lakemba, were well received by the reigning sovereign, who encouraged them to enter upon their labours without delay. Nor were they ignorant of the character of the barbarians whom they thus undertook to civilize and enlighten; for one of the teachers resident in the neighbourhood had recently communicated to the public a fearful account of their cruel superstitions. Besides cannibalism, on which he dilates with every expression of disgust, he mentions a practice, nowhere else noticed, of burying individuals alive, who are either tired of life, or no longer fit for it. Persons too old, or too ill to be of any farther service, are the usual victims, though it is sometimes done at the request of those who, from religious motives, are desirous to change this

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state of existence for a better. In this case, no effort is made to dissuade the devotee from his purpose; the willing murderers proceed forthwith, to dig a hole of sufficient capacity, and placing him in a sitting posture, cast the earth upon him, which is pressed down by the feet of his own relatives and friends.*

That the charge of cannibalism brought against the natives of this part of the South Seas is not without foundation, will appear from the following statement given by Mariner, to whose residence at Tonga we have more than once alluded. A war having arisen between the men of Pau and Chichia, both islands of the Fijee class, the latter, who were victorious, resolved to signalize their triumph by a great feast. After the usual dancing and indulgence in cava, the chief gave orders to his cooks to bring forward the repast. Immediately they advanced two and two, each couple bearing on their shoulders a basket, in which was the body of a man barbacued like a pig. The bodies were placed before the monarch, who was seated at the head of his company on an esplanade in the open air. When these victims had been arranged on the ground in due order, roasted pigs were brought in like manner; afterwards baskets of yams, on each of which was a baked fowl. These being regularly deposited, the number of dishes was counted and announced to the guests with a loud voice, when there appeared to be two hundred human bodies, two hundred hogs, two hundred baskets of yams, and the same amount of fowls. The provisions were then divided into various lots, all of which were severally dedicated to a particular god; after which they were committed to the care of as many principal leaders, who shared them out to all their attendants, so that every man and woman in the island became possessed of a portion of each article, whether they might choose to eat

* Ample details relative to the atrocities committed by the Fijee tribes under the sanction of religion, will be found in the Missionary Journals, most of which are too gross and appalling to be transferred to our pages.

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it or not. The narrator does not positively assert, that every one present at this savage entertainment partook of the human flesh; and it is not improbable that the captive Pauans had been offered as sacrifices, or in compliance with ancient custom, rather than to gratify the palates of their conquerors. But it is not concealed that the chiefs, the warriors, and the more ferocious part of the company, did regale themselves on the unnatural diet, and that several of them feasted on it exclusively.*

Leaving for a time that scene of brutal rage and sensuality, we proceed to the Navigators' Islands, which have profited to a greater extent by the spirit of improvement introduced among them by the missionaries, and are in every respect extremely important. They are situated between lat. 10° and 15° S., and long. 185° and 195° E. The number is usually said to be nine, the largest of which, named Pola or Savaii, is double the extent of Otaheite, and not inferior either in beauty or fertility. Upolu and Maouna or Tutuila are the next in size and value, the remainder being small and not very productive. They all manifest the most distinct proofs of a volcanic origin. The rocks forming the beach, upon which the sea breaks with such fury as to throw the water more than fifty feet high, are lava, basalt, and coral, united into a firm mass by the action of subterraneous heat. The hills, some of which are lofty, are clothed to the very summit with trees bearing loads of fruit. The soil of the plains is rich, and covered with extensive plantations of guavas, bananas, and sugar-cane. Pigs, fowls, birds, and fish, every where abound; and hence it is not surprising to find that the population has been estimated at not less than a hundred and fifty thousand.†

These islands were discovered by Bougainville, in the year 1768, who gave them the designation they still bear, from observing, it is supposed, the superior con-

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* Mariner's Tonga Islands, vol. i. p. 276.

† The names of the other islands are Orosenga, Ofu, Manono, Aboruna, and Manua; in addition to which, there are several small ones near the coast of Tutuila and Savaii.

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struction of the canoes, and the skill with which they were managed. In 1788, they were visited by the unfortunate La Perouse, who lost there his friend M. de Langle and a number of his men, who were murdered by a party of the natives. This barbarous act conveyed such an impression of their treachery and bloodthirstiness as deterred other voyagers from approaching their coast for many years; and hence the remembrance of them was almost obliterated before they were again explored by adventurers in our own day. Captain Edwards of the Pandora appears to have determined the position of several of them, but his narrative is so imperfect, that no reliance can be placed on the conclusions which have been drawn from his statements.

Kotzebue, in 1824, directed his course for the Navigators', and on the 2d day of April observed the most easterly of their number rising from the sea like a high round mountain. He remarks, that the inhabitants of the whole group are far less civilized than were the Otaheitans when first discovered by Wallis. Those of Maouna, especially, are perhaps the most ferocious people to be met with in the South Sea. He visited the scene where De Langle and his comrades fell, now known by the name of Massacre Bay. The appearance of the country was inviting; the shores were bordered with cocoa-nut trees, and the freshest vegetation enlivened the interior; but nothing betrayed that the island was inhabited; no smoke arose, and no canoe was seen. This appeared the more remarkable, as on La Perouse's arrival, his ship, as soon as perceived by the natives, was surrounded by several hundred skiffs laden with provisions. At length a small canoe containing three men was seen paddling towards the Russian frigate, by the crew of which the savages were invited to go on board. Declining this offer of confidence, one of them climbed up the side high enough to see over the deck, and handed to the persons nearest him a few cocoa-nuts, all the provisions he had brought. He received in return a piece of iron, which he pressed to his forehead in sign of

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thankfulness, making a low reverence. Having examined the deck a long time with a suspicious eye, without speaking a word, he suddenly commenced a pathetic harangue, growing more and more animated as he proceeded, and pointing with passionate gestures alternately to the vessel and the land.

In the midst of this address, several other canoes approached, filled, as the captain conjectured, by the descendants of the furious murderers. The wild troop appeared timid at first, but the orator having inspired them with courage, they at once became so impudent and daring that they seemed disposed to take possession of the ship by violence. To prevent any assault, the sailors were appointed to the proper stations fully armed, with orders to check their forwardness without inflicting any personal injury. It was soon found, however, that all the bayonets and lances were quite necessary to prevent an invasion from the canoes, the number of which had considerably increased; and even in defiance of repeated blows, some of the most resolute of the natives succeeded in planting themselves on board. Impelled by that covetous emotion which no savage has ever been able to repress, they grasped with both hands every object they could reach, and held it so pertinaciously, that it required the united efforts of some of the strongest seamen to throw them overboard. Except a few cocoa-nuts, they offered no kind of provisions; but by a variety of expressive gestures they invited the strangers to land, intimating, that they would be amply supplied on shore with every thing they wanted. The barbarians, it was imagined, had destined for them the fate of the too credulous Frenchmen; they appeared unarmed, but had artfully concealed clubs and short lances in their boats.

A few who were permitted to remain on deck behaved as rudely as if they had been already masters of the ship—snatching from the hands of the officers some little presents they were about to distribute amongst them. There was one exception, a youth, who in return for a gift bestowed upon him, bowed to the captain with great

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politeness, and almost in European fashion. The rest of his countrymen behaved like beasts of the desert, trying to seize by main force whatever struck their fancy. They even showed more disgusting propensities. One of them, for example, was so much tempted by the accidental display of a sailor's bare arm, that he could not help exhibiting his horrible appetite for human flesh; he snapped at it with his teeth, indicating, by the most unequivocal signs, that such food would be very palatable to him. Kotzebue, after remarking that cannibalism still prevails very extensively in the islands of the South Sea, warns all voyagers not to venture among the tribes who have a taste for so horrible a diet, without the utmost precaution, because they are more artful and treacherous than any other of the Polynesians. The inhabitants of Maouna are probably the worst in the Navigators' group. Intent on some wicked purpose, they continued to invest the ship with increasing numbers and less disguised ferocity. Many of them stood up in their canoes, made long speeches, accompanied by angry looks and menacing gestures. Their screams and threatenings soon became general; and, brandishing their clubs, they began to make formal preparations for an attack, which were only repelled by a display of bayonets and the fear of loaded guns.

In point of stature, the inhabitants presented nothing remarkable, not exceeding five feet six inches, and being rather slender in form, though strikingly muscular. Their faces would have been thought handsome, had they not been disfigured by an expression of wildness and cruelty. Their colour is dark brown; some let their long black hair hang down unornamented, over the neck, face, and shoulders; others wore it bound up and fastened like a cap round the temples, which appendage being coloured yellow, makes a striking contrast with the rest of the head.*

* A New Voyage round the World in the Years 1823-1826. By Otto Von Kotzebue, post-captain in the Russian Imperial Navy (2 vols. 12mo, London, 1830), vol. i. p. 265. The island called by Kotzebue Maouna, is by Williams denominated Tutuila.

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The Navigators' Archipelago is, with the single exception of the Sandwich Islands, the largest and most populous in the Pacific, and will no doubt, in the course of a few years, rise into considerable importance. As they lie in the vicinity of the Friendly Islands, the Fijees, the New Hebrides, New Caledonia, and numerous smaller clusters, intercourse between them could be easily maintained, and thus a civilizing influence might be exerted upon the myriads of ignorant heathen who dwell between the Samoas and the coast of New Holland. In a word, whether we view that insular region as a scene for commercial enterprise, a field for scientific research, or a sphere for the exercise of christian benevolence, we must necessarily regard it with feelings of the liveliest interest.

A few years ago, a wish was expressed by the inhabitants of Australia, that government would form a settlement at one of the South Sea Islands, where ships might refit and obtain provisions without being exposed to danger. Were such a station determined upon, it is clear that the Navigators' group is the most eligible place for its establishment. Its central situation, the excellence of its harbours, the abundant supply of water, and the great variety of timber, ornamental and useful, are important advantages, and such as could hardly fail to ensure its prosperity. Besides, the vast extent of unoccupied land deserves consideration, when viewed with reference to a future colony. In the several valleys, there are thousands of acres of the richest soil, entirely uncultivated; indeed the portion of improved land is said to be comparatively small, for as the fruits grow in abundance without labour, the people display little care or ingenuity in agriculture. So fertile is their glebe, generally speaking, that coffee, sugar, cotton, and every other tropical production might be raised in these islands to almost any extent; and as they abound with springs and lakes, machinery might in many places be worked with the greatest facility.

When Williams visited the Navigators', in his character of missionary, he had with him a converted chief

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named Fauea, who, enriched with the possession of much practical good sense, proved a very useful guide to the brethren. Addressing his naked countrymen, he said, "can the religion of these English be any thing but wise and good? Look at them, and then look at us; their heads are covered, while ours are exposed to the heat of the sun and the wet of the rain; their bodies are clothed all over with beautiful raiment, while we have nothing but a bandage of leaves round our waists; they have clothes upon their very feet, while ours are like the dogs'; and, besides, behold how rich they are in axes, scissors, and other property, while we have nothing." This reasoning, which was felt and fully understood, prepared the simple natives to listen with attention to the lessons now about to be given to them. On the other hand, he requested the teachers not to begin their labours among the ignorant pagans by condemning their canoe races, their dances, and other amusements, to which they were much attached, lest, in the very outset, they should conceive a dislike to the religion which imposed such restraints. "Be diligent," said he, "in teaching the people to make them *wise*, and then their hearts will be afraid, and they themselves will put away that which is evil. Let the 'word' prevail, and get a firm hold upon them, and then you may with safety adopt measures which at first would prove injurious." This considerate convert wished that his rude Samoans should first be taught to reflect, or as he expressed it, to be made wise, being satisfied that they would soon afterwards consent to relinquish the puerilities of their contemptible superstition.

Proceeding under the direction of such a leader, the missionaries soon found their toils rewarded by an unusual degree of success. The chiefs of Savaii and Upolu not only facilitated all their arrangements for the introduction of the gospel, but extended to them at once protection and encouragement, moved principally by the representations of Fauea, who had witnessed the happy effects of even an imperfect civilisation at the Friendly

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Islands. He described in glowing language the triumphs of Christianity at Tongataboo, where Tupou, the most powerful man in the country, had embraced it; and also at the Hapai cluster, where all the people had become believers. In particular, he assured his wondering auditors, that those who held this marvellous faith could communicate their thoughts to one another at the greatest distance; a fact which, so well attested and so forcibly delineated, had immense weight with the natives who crowded to the teachers' houses to learn this mysterious art. Still the missionaries were disposed to question the purity of Fauea's motives; regarding him as an ambitious aspiring man, who promoted their designs chiefly on account of the temporal advantages which would result from the introduction of the new doctrines among his ignorant people. He had also penetration enough to see that his family would be raised in public estimation by the alliance which he had formed with the English, and that his own name would be transmitted to posterity as the person who had conducted the messengers of knowledge and improvement to their shores. But whatever his views or character may have been, it is admitted that his zealous persevering endeavours greatly forwarded the designs of the christian teachers.*

After an absence of nearly two years, Mr Williams returned to Savaii, and found that the gospel had met with a very general acceptation among the rude inhabitants, who had followed in this respect the example of their chiefs. Malietoa, the sovereign ruler of the larger islands, gave instructions to one of his sons to build a chapel, while he himself was engaged in a sanguinary war with certain neighbours who had inflicted an injury on his family. Peace being restored, he resolved to open the house of prayer with due formality; but not knowing what effect the change of religion might have on the fortunes of his house, he called his children together, and informed them that he was now about to profess, in a

* Missionary Enterprises, p. 357.

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public manner, his belief in Jehovah, and to take part in his worship. With one accord, they approved of his determination, and assured him that they would all follow the same course. But to this he objected, declaring that if they did so, he would adhere to the old system; adding, as a reason, that perhaps the native gods might be angry with him for deserting their altars, while it was doubtful whether the deity lately revealed to his knowledge had power to protect him against the effects of their wrath. He therefore proposed that he alone should try the experiment, and if he sustained no injury, his sons might then join him in the new ceremonies. "If Jehovah can shield me, you may with safety follow my example; but if not, I only shall fall a victim to their vengeance; you will be safe."

In this good resolution he was confirmed by a chief of Rarotonga, who, in an eloquent speech, described the happy results which, in his own island, had flowed from the profession of Christianity. "Now," said he, "we enjoy happiness to which our ancestors were strangers; our ferocious wars have ceased; our houses are the abodes of comfort; we have European property; we possess books in our own language; our children can read; and, above all, we know the true God, and the way of salvation by his Son Jesus Christ. This alone can make you a peaceable and happy people. I should have died a savage had it not been for the gospel."*

The congregation, collected by Malietoa, amounted to seven hundred, all of whom appeared eager in their desire to become acquainted with divine truth, so far as their simple minds could comprehend it. On Sunday, divine service was commenced with a hymn, which was sung by the teachers only. One of them read a chapter in the Otaheitan New Testament, which he translated

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* Missionary Enterprises, p. 431. The orator in this case was Makea, who had accompanied Mr Williams from the Hervey Islands to witness the triumphs of the new faith, and who on this occasion had his dark figure vested in a red surtout, presented to him by a missionary's wife.

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as he went along, and then pronounced a prayer with great warmth and fluency. The discourse which followed was heard with the most profound attention; and although the appearance of the audience was singularly uncultivated and grotesque, it was impossible to view them without feelings of the deepest interest.*

It is obvious, that in most cases of conversion at the Navigators' and other islands, the change was not effected by any intelligible appeal either to the reason or the conscience. Disgusted with their native idolatry, and alarmed by the appalling demands which it occasionally made upon their lives, they lent a ready ear to any teacher, however little qualified by knowledge or experience, who could tell them of a more powerful god and a less sanguinary worship. Nor were they blind to the advantages of civilisation and to the comforts with which it is always associated. "It is my wish," said one of the chiefs, "that the christian religion should become universal amongst us. I look at the wisdom of these worshippers of Jehovah, and see how superior they are to us in every respect. Their ships are like floating houses, so that they can traverse the tempest-driven ocean for months

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* When the teachers were asked why they had not taught the people to sing, they replied that they had begun to do so, but as the females sang the hymns at their dances, they had thought it better to desist. For a similar reason they deemed it expedient to administer the ordinance of baptism in private, being apprehensive that the people would imitate the form among their children, as an antidote against the influence of evil spirits, storms, or earthquakes. Among the "sons of the word," as the converts were called, the missionaries observed two English sailors, who boasted that they had in their train no fewer than two hundred proselytes. Being asked how they effected their object, one of them said, "why, Sir, I goes about and talks to the people, and tells 'em that our God is good and theirs is bad; and when they listens to me I makes 'em religion, and baptizes 'em." "You baptize them!" said the querist, "how do you perform that?" "Why, Sir," the sailor answered, "I takes water, and dips my hands in it, and crosses them in their foreheads, and in their breasts, and then I reads a bit of a prayer to 'em in English." "Of course," remarked the other, "they understand you?" "No," he rejoined, "but they says they knows it does 'em good."—P. 421.

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with perfect safety, whereas if a breeze blow upon our canoes, they are in an instant upset, and we thrown into the sea. Their persons also are covered from head to foot in beautiful clothes, while we wear nothing but a girdle of leaves. Now I conclude that the God who has given to his white worshippers these valuable things must be wiser than our gods, for they have not given the like to us. We want all these articles, and my proposition is, that the god who gave them should be our god." But whatever might be the motives, it is certain that the new religion was highly esteemed by all classes; that the desire for missionaries was intense; that at many stations the people themselves erected places of worship; and that when assembled together for sacred purposes, they conducted themselves with becoming seriousness. One of the most intelligent of the teachers at the Samoan Isles expresses a doubt whether any of the inhabitants had experienced a change of heart, or that their desire for instruction arose from a knowledge of the spiritual nature of the gospel. Some of them, he admits, thought that by their embracing Christianity, vessels would be induced to visit them; others imagined that they would thereby be preserved from the malignity of the native gods; many hoped that by adopting the new religion their lives on earth would be prolonged; and a few valued it chiefly as the means of terminating their desolating wars.

It has been already stated, that, in the year 1830, when the missionaries Williams and Barff first landed at Savaii, a dreadful contest was about to take place owing to the murder of Taimafainga, a powerful ruler. By the interposition of these benevolent men the period of hostility was shortened, and a better spirit infused into the minds of the leaders. The happy change confirmed the influence of the new faith, and led to the desire for new teachers, which was gratified to a certain extent, at least, in 1836, when several from England arrived on their shores. At a meeting of the chiefs, among whom was Malietoa, these servants of Christ entreated that the

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war should not be renewed. They were assured that it should not, and, moreover, that, if any quarrel arose among the leaders, a reference would be made to them as umpires. The author of a letter from Upolu, dated two years later, calculates, that the number of Christians there is about twenty thousand ; that, in Savaii, there are between twelve and thirteen thousand ; in Tutuila, about six thousand ; and, in Manono, all the people, amounting to not less than one thousand, have openly professed the faith of the Redeemer.

In one of the districts of Aana was held, in 1837, the first missionary meeting in the Navigators' Islands. It was attended by two thousand five hundred persons ; the conquerors and the conquered mingling together. Chiefs of each party delivered speeches on the occasion, in which, while they did not forget the main object of the assembly, they severally made touching allusions to their former contests, contrasting with those sanguinary scenes their present delightful harmony. On the very spot where the last destructive war was waged, a number of flourishing villages now stand, each of which has one or more schools, and divine worship is regularly performed on Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday. Even in their unconverted state, as already noticed, the manners of the Samoans, and their skill in the construction and management of canoes, were greatly superior to those of the Marquesan and the Society Islanders. Now there is farther observed a considerable degree of dignity in their behaviour towards visiters and strangers. The common dress of the men was formerly very slight, consisting of nothing more than a girdle of leaves, while the women satisfied themselves with a shaggy mat, on which they displayed all the ingenuity peculiar to the sex in matters of dress. At present the greater number wear decent wrappers of calico, with shirts and gowns ; and when they cannot afford these, they appear in garments of a coarse though not unseemly cloth, manufactured from the bark of trees. Formerly when vessels arrived, muskets and beads were the articles most in demand ; but now the

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principal inquiry is made for wearing apparel, slates, pencils, and writing paper. The master of a whale-ship recently confessed that he had carried to the Navigators' group forty muskets for barter, and had only sold two. In a word, the history of modern missions does not supply a more powerful inducement to christian zeal, or a more gratifying reward to the intrepidity with which their great objects have been pursued. A few years ago, the European who casually landed on those islands, saw every where prevailing rapine, murder, cannibalism, and other crimes at which his heart sickened; at present, he may contemplate, at least in the christianized districts, morals comparatively pure, the exercise of a rational worship, peace, confidence, and brotherly kindness, all heightened by the assured intercourse of social enjoyment.

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CHAPTER VIII.

New Hebrides, the Louisiade, Solomon, and Ladrone Islands.

These several Groups have made no Progress in Civilisation or religious Knowledge—Enjoy a good Climate, and are capable of great Improvement—New Hebrides principally discovered by Quiros—Are in most Parts very fertile—Inhabitants of the Negro Race—Visited by Bougainville and Captain Cook—The Inhabitants of Mallicollo described—Natives of Tanna Cannibals—Details supplied by Quiros—Attempts made by British Missionaries to improve the Natives—Murder of Williams by People of Erromango—Mr Heath succeeds in forming a Station—The Louisiade discovered by Torres, but named by Bougainville—Fierce Character of the Inhabitants—The Solomon Islands made known by Mendana—Visited by Carteret and other Navigators—The Inhabitants Negroes—Remarks by Surville, Shortland, and D'Entrecasteaux—New Britain, New Ireland, and New Caledonia—The Natives in a low State of Civilisation—Pelew Islands—The Ladrones—Discovered by Magellan—The Scenery very fine and cheering—People oppressed by a bad Government—Proceedings of the Romish Missionaries—Island of Guam—Inhabitants profess Christianity.

Of the several groups now specified, as they have not yet made any marked progress in civilisation or religious knowledge, our account will be very brief, referring chiefly to their position, discovery, and physical properties. The first in order has indeed incurred an unfavourable distinction, as being the scene where Mr Williams, the indefatigable missionary, lost his life, under the hands of the savage natives. In other respects, it lays no claim to the attention of Europeans, beyond that prospective importance which most of the islands of the Pacific possess, on account of their fine climate, valuable produc-

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tions, and, above all, the capability they present of being one day converted into colonies, where an enlightened faith, science, art, and commercial activity, will ensure to the inhabitants all the blessings of social life.

The New Hebrides, including the islands discovered by Captain Bligh in 1789, are situated between lat. 13° 15′ and 20° 5′ S., and long. 166° 40′ and 170° E. The largest of the whole is Tierra del Espiritu Santo, which was first made known by Quiros in the year 1606. It extends more than seventy miles from north-west to south-east, with an average breadth of twenty-five. Farther south is Mallicollo, which is more than sixty miles long, and about twenty-eight broad, having a good harbour, called Port Sandwich, near its southern extremity. Erromango is fully eighty miles in circumference, and Tanna, which lies at no great distance, is computed to be at least twenty in length. In the latter, a volcano exists in a state of great activity; and, indeed, most of the cluster appear to have had their origin in the action of subterraneous fire. Hence the peculiar form of the islands which rise into lofty hills, and even mountains of great elevation. The valleys and level tracts along the coast are extremely fertile, displaying an immense profusion of vegetable riches. It is said, that more than forty different kinds of trees and plants are cultivated. The banana, sugar-cane, yam, arum, batata, and curcuma, are grown with great care in fields regularly divided. The cocoanut, bread-fruit, the cabbage-tree, figs, almonds, and oranges, are common. Bamboos, pepper, and mastic, are abundant, and the nutmeg-tree also frequently occurs. The usual domestic animals are reared, especially the pig, hogs, and a variety of fowls. The inhabitants belong to the race of Australian negroes, who also occupy part of the Fijee Islands; but judging by their agriculture, it must be admitted that they have made farther advances in civilisation than any other of the kindred tribes.

Besides the obligations we owe to Bligh and Quiros for our knowledge of the New Hebrides, we are also indebted to Bougainville, who made some important dis-

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coveries in 1768, and to Cook, whose investigations in 1774 have rendered them familiar to every reader. Of the inhabitants of Mallicollo, the great navigator does not speak highly. He calls them an "ape-like nation;" and farther remarks, that they are the most ugly, ill-proportioned people he ever saw, being in every respect different from any he had observed in the Pacific. They are indeed a very dark coloured and rather diminutive race, with long heads, flat countenances, and monkey features. Their hair, mostly black or brown, is short and curly, but not quite so soft and woolly as that of a negro. Their beards are very strong, crisp, and bushy, and generally black and short. But what most adds to their deformity, is a belt or cord which they wear round the waist, and tie so tight over the belly, that the shape of their bodies is not unlike that of an overgrown pismire.*

At Tanna, the discoverer was informed by the natives, that they were in the habit of eating human flesh. "They began the subject of their own accord, by asking us if we did; otherwise I should never have thought of ask-

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* Cook's Voyage towards the South Pole, vol. ii. p. 36. "The people of Mallicollo seemed to be quite a different nation from any we had yet met with, and speak a different language. Of about eighty words which Mr Forster collected, hardly one bears any affinity to the language spoken at any other island or place I had ever been at. The letter R is used in many of their words; and frequently two or three being joined together, such words we found difficult to pronounce. I observed that they could pronounce most of our words with great ease. They express their admiration by hissing like a goose."

In reference to the island of Tanna, Cook states, that "during the night the volcano, which was about four miles to the west of us, vomited up vast quantities of fire and smoke, as it had also the night before; and the flames were seen to rise above the hill which lay between us and it. At every eruption it made a long rumbling noise like that of thunder, or the blowing up of large mines. A heavy shower of rain which fell at this time seemed to increase it; and the wind blowing from the same quarter, the air was loaded with its ashes, which fell so thick, that every thing was covered with the dust. It was a kind of fine sand, or stone ground or burnt to powder, and was exceedingly troublesome to the eyes."

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ing them such a question. I have heard people argue, that no nation could be cannibals, if they had other flesh to eat, or did not want food; thus deriving the custom from necessity. The people of this island can be under no such necessity; they have fine pork and fowls, and plenty of fruits and roots."

At first the captain thought that the inhabitants of Tanna, as well as those of Erromango, were a race between the natives of the Friendly Islands and the people of Mallicollo, but a farther acquaintance convinced him that they had little or no affinity to either, except in their hair. It is very crisp and curly, like that of the negro families, and dark in the colour. They separate it into small locks, wound tightly round with the rind of a slender plant; and each of these not being thicker than common whip-cord, look like a parcel of small strings hanging down from the crown of the head. Some few of both sexes were seen, who had hair like that of Europeans; but it was concluded that they belonged to a different nation, and were probably emigrants from Erronan. It is to this island they ascribe one of the languages they speak, and which is nearly the same as the dialect of the Tonga Archipelago. Hence, it is presumed, that the former was peopled from the Friendly Isles, and that, in consequence of a long intercourse, each had learned to use the speech of the other.

It was found that, besides the arts necessary for the cultivation of the ground, the people who occupy the larger islands of the New Hebrides practise no other. They know, indeed, how to make a kind of matting, as also a coarse cloth manufactured from the bark of a tree, and used chiefly for belts. But their canoes present only a very imperfect acquaintance with the rules of shipbuilding; while their armour, on which they bestow the greatest pains, is very inferior in point of neatness to that seen in the more eastern parts of Polynesia. Little knowledge was acquired either as to their religion or form of government. Chiefs were introduced to the English in various parts of the several islands, but no one was

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observed to assume the exercise of authority, or to receive implicit obedience from the multitude.*

In the days of Quiros, the inhabitants were more fierce and warlike than they were found by our countryman towards the close of last century; and in several encounters which took place, though the Spaniards were victorious, considerable loss was sustained. His description of the island of Espiritu Santo gives the picture of a Polynesian paradise, the shores of which were "full of odoriferous flowers and plants." There were in all parts contiguous to the sea pleasant and agreeable groves, extending to the sides of lofty mountains in the interior; and also, from the top of one which his people mounted, were perceived at a distance extremely fertile valleys, diversified by fine rivers winding among the green hills. The whole country, he maintained, had a decided advantage over America. It was uncommonly plenteous in various and delicious fruits, potatoes, yams, papas, plantains, which the soil produced in the greatest abundance. There were also in the plains and on the declivities which descend into them excellent limes. They saw almonds larger than those in Spain; there were sweet basil, nutmegs, ebony, fowls, and hogs; and they observed honey-bees, doves, partridges, and parrots.†

Little was done for these interesting islands either in the way of religion or of general civilisation till a few

* Captain Cook, after mentioning that the northern islands were discovered by Quiros, and that the group was subsequently visited by Bougainville, who did no more than ascertain that the land was not connected, says, "as besides fixing the extent and situation of these islands, we added to them several new ones which were not known before, and explored the whole, I think we have obtained a right to name them; and shall in future distinguish them by the name of the New Hebrides."

† Voyage de Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, in Dalrymple's Historical Collection of the several Voyages and Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean, vol. i. p. 136. It is well known that when Quiros touched on the shores of Espiritu Santo, he imagined he had reached the great Southern Continent, then the favourite object of speculation and research. Bougainville, by sailing round the island, put an end to the fond dream entertained by the discoverer.

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years ago, when the zealous men who had just succeeded in establishing the gospel in the Society, Friendly, and Navigators' groups, resolved to extend the blessings of light and knowledge to the New Hebrides. Embarking in the Cambden, a vessel supplied by the Society for the purpose of propagating the faith in the Pacific, Mr Williams, accompanied by a number of teachers, proceeded to Tanna, where he was uncommonly well received by the natives, and at whose request he left several missionaries. They next sailed to Erromango, the inhabitants of which, who appeared shy and suspicious, declined all intercourse, making signs to the preachers to go away. They spoke, too, a language quite different from that of the Windward Islands, so that the English on board could not understand a single word. Williams, who attributed their reluctance to admit strangers to the ill treatment which they had probably sustained at the hands of other foreigners who may have debarked on some former occasion, declared that he should not have the slightest fear to trust himself among them. To the captain, who doubted the wisdom of his resolution, he said, "you know we like to take possession of the land, and if we can only leave good impressions on the minds of the natives, we can come again and leave teachers; we must be content to do a little; you know Babel was not built in a day." Upon landing, he presented his hand to those nearest him, which they were unwilling to take, but by inducing them to accept some gifts, he seemed to have entirely gained their confidence. He therefore accompanied the party to a little distance from the shore, when, without any provocation, they commenced an attack upon their visiters, consisting of four individuals, one of whom, Mr Harris, they instantly despatched with their clubs. He himself attempted to escape by running down towards the beach; he was, however, so hotly pursued, that before he could reach the water, he was several times struck, and at length fell heavily upon his face into the sea. The body, which was dragged from the waves, lay on the sand some time, and the assassins,

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having retired for a moment, hope was entertained that it might be rescued from the hands of those ferocious cannibals. But before the crew could pull to the spot, they issued from the thicket into which they had withdrawn, and carried the remains into the interior, whither they could not be followed. The Cambden, being strictly a ship of peace, had no shot on board; and the noise made by an empty gun could not long intimidate the rude barbarians, who soon learn to distinguish between real power and a vain menace.*

On the arrival of the melancholy tidings at Sydney, Sir George Gipps, the governor of the colony, ordered her majesty's ship Favourite, under the command of Captain Croker, to proceed to Erromango, with the view of recovering the bodies of the two murdered missionaries. The use of this vessel, however, was granted and received on the express condition that no measures of punishment or retaliation should be adopted against the wretched natives. By negotiating with the leading chiefs, they recovered from them a few, and only a few, of the relics of these honoured men, which were conveyed with suitable respect to the Navigators' Islands for christian burial. This solemnity took place on the 31st March 1840, amidst an immense concourse of people; the officers, seamen, and marines, from the man-of-war, being also present to pay their tribute of veneration to the memory of the intrepid servants of the Redeemer, who thought not their lives too dear to be expended in his service. At a meeting of the brethren immediately afterwards, it was resolved that Mr Heath should be named successor to Williams, who forthwith took shipping for the New Hebrides, accompanied by five native teachers. Being favoured with a prosperous voyage, he had soon an opportunity of visiting the islands of Rotumah, Tanna, Immer, New Caledonia, the Isle of Pines, and even Erromango itself, at all of which stations were formed, and ministers appointed.†

* Missionary Register, June 1840, p. 90.
† Report of the Directors to the Forty-seventh General Meet-

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In proceeding westward, we enter the regions of a barbarism almost entirely unmitigated by the elements of civilisation. Passing from the New Hebrides, the Louisiade presents itself; a group of islands probably discovered by Torres, after he had passed the strait which divides New Guinea from Australia, but named by Bougainville, who brought them into notice during his voyage in 1768. They are situated between lat. 8° and 12° S., and long. 150° and 155° E. As they have been little visited, our information respecting them is very imperfect. It is merely known that they are numerous, and occupy a space of more than three hundred miles, stretching from north-west to south-east, the direction, as we have already stated, which is assumed by all the islands of the Southern Pacific. Being of volcanic origin, some of them rise to a considerable elevation; and from the appearances which meet the eye of the seaman as he skirts along their coasts, it is concluded that the soil must be fertile. The inhabitants, who belong to the race of the warlike Papuas, are regarded as cannibals; but as they manifest the utmost aversion to any intercourse with Europeans, their real character has not been ascertained. No missionary has yet ventured to touch their shores; the spirit of commerce, which usually sets all danger at defiance, has not made itself acquainted with their capabilities or productions; and even the love of science, not less powerful than religious zeal or the thirst for gain, has achieved no triumph over the difficulties opposed to its progress by the brutal ferocity of such savage tribes.

The Solomon Islands, which were discovered by Mendana in his first voyage, 1567, form one of the most extensive of the numerous archipelagos in the Pacific. They are situated between lat. 5° and 11° S., and between long. 154° 35′ and 162° 25′ E. Though they have been visited by Carteret and other navigators, both English and French, it is presumed there are many which still remain unknown, while of those which are marked

ing of the Missionary Society, usually called the London Missionary Society (Lond. 1841), p. 5.

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in our charts, nothing more has been revealed to the European geographer than could be seen from the deck of a ship at the distance of several leagues. Even their position was very inaccurately determined by the original discoverer, whose conjectures as to their longitude from Peru had no better foundation than the reckoning of his pilot. The most northern is Winchelsea, sometimes called Anson; and the southern extremity is marked by the one named Rennell. The largest are Guadalcanor, San Christoval, and Santa Isabella, exceeding seventy miles in length; while next to these may be ranked Bougainville's Island and Choiseul, each of which has been estimated at more than sixty. The central parts of the whole are rugged, and frequently very lofty; Mount Lammor, in Guadalcanor, has even been compared in altitude to the Peak of Teneriffe. The hills are generally covered with fruitful trees, and the valleys, which have been described as fertile, are said to be generally well cultivated. Bananas, yams, sugar-cane, and ginger, grow luxuriantly. The bread-fruit, cocoa-palms, cabbage-tree, almonds, Indian kale, and cloves, are found in abundance. The inhabitants, though negroes, are supposed to have made some progress in civilisation; but their character is stained with the imputation of cannibalism.*

Owing to the vague description of Mendana's discovery communicated to the Spanish government, subsequent navigators knew not where to search for the Solomon Islands. Even he himself could not retrace his steps; nor was it till the 7th October, in the year 1769, that Surville obtained a view of the archipelago; his ship, according to the logbook, being in lat. 6° 57′ S., and long. 152° 28′ east of Paris. Proceeding along the coast in a south-

* Spanish Discoveries before 1595, in Dalrymple's Historical Collection, vol. i. p. 45. Pingre's Mem., abridged from Figueroa. Dalrymple, vol. i. p. 44. Herrera's Descripcion de las Indias, *sub. init.* See also an "Extract from a Memoir concerning the Existence and Situation of Solomon's Islands." By M. Buachi, in Fleurieu's "Discoveries of the French in 1768 and 1769, to the South-east of New Guinea," p. 309. English translation (Lond. 1791).

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eastern direction, he found a harbour formed by an assemblage of islands, where he anchored, and named it Port Praslin. From the time of his first approaching the coast till he finally arrived in this haven, he saw a number of small islands, which, though they appeared to be continued land, he afterwards discovered to be separate, and about three leagues from what he considered a continent. He bestowed upon them the title of "Islands of the Arsacidæ," a name which, being founded on an historical mistake, they did not long retain. From their perfidious and bloody disposition, he meant to compare them to the Assassins of Upper Asia, but being misled by a similarity of sound, he applied to these savages the designation of a royal race long famous in the East.*

The following year, Bougainville found a passage, by the north of Solomon's Archipelago, through a strait which still bears his name; and, in 1783, Mr Shortland visited the south-western coast of the group, when, mistaking the outline of the islands for one continued country, he assigned to the imaginary continent the name of New Georgia. D'Entrecasteaux has thrown considerable light on the geography of the whole. Having examined with care the southern shores of Christoval and Guadalcanor, he verified the points seen by the Englishman, and determined with greater accuracy the position of the isles discovered by Surville.

Proceeding towards the north-west, we perceive the island of New Britain, which might, without any violation of principle, be considered as belonging to the Solomon cluster. It is situated between latitude 5° and 7° S., and long. 148° and 153° E. So late as the year 1700, it was held to be a part of New Guinea; but immediately afterwards, Dampier discovered the strait which separates the two islands. It is divided from New Ireland by St George's Channel, and presents, on the southern side, a coast of a peculiar figure, which is said to measure more than three hundred and fifty miles. The surface, which

* Fleurieu's Discoveries of the French, p. 99-101.

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has been estimated at twenty-four thousand square miles, is diversified by very lofty mountains, from the highest of which smoke was observed to ascend by Carteret the celebrated navigator. It was the same officer who made known the narrow sea which separates this island from New Ireland; for, prior to his time, the two were pronounced to be but one, and both united to Papua. Dampier, who noticed the inlet to St George's Channel, considered that it was nothing more than a bay, and proceeded on his voyage. New Ireland exhibits the same geological features as the neighbouring members of this great archipelago, having a mountainous structure, though the most elevated summits appeared to be covered with wood. The same description may be applied to New Hanover, which is situated still more westward, and is about thirty miles in length. In all these islands the lower tracts are fertile, and produce the usual fruits, plants, and spiceries peculiar to that region of the Pacific. The inhabitants, who are thought to be very numerous, belong without doubt to the race of Australian negroes, bearing a strong resemblance to the savage tribes of New Guinea. They are described as stout and well made, of a very dark colour, and quite unencumbered with clothes. Being remarkable for their courage, they delight in war—acting upon the maxim not yet altogether exploded in the more civilized islands of the Society and Georgian class, that it is more honourable to die in the field than to end their days in pining sickness or loathsome disease.

Connected with these islands in language and character rather than in position is New Caledonia, which stands within the parallels of 18° and 23° S., and between long. 163° and 168° E. It extends more than four hundred miles in length, but is very narrow, being nowhere more than sixty miles in width. The discovery of it is due to Captain Cook, who examined its coast in his voyage towards the South Pole, in the year 1774. He found the inhabitants friendly and good-natured, though their treatment of subsequent adventurers does not con-

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firm their claim to this favourable distinction. They are in all respects nearly related to the Papuans; display the same aspect and physical qualities, are stoutly made, have dark curly hair, with very black skins, and are moreover denounced by the French seamen who approached their shore as fierce cannibals. Their affinity to the people of New Guinea is still farther established by their language, which, while it differs from that of the nearest group, proves itself to be a dialect of the rude speech used by the natives of the island just named, as well as by those of New Britain and New Ireland.

We purposely avoid details relative to hordes of barbarians who present not, either in their pursuits or institutions, any token of improvement, and who are distinguished from the wild beasts with which they dispute the occupation of their mountains only by their more ingenious methods of destruction. The same remark may be extended to the whole range of the Admiralty and Caroline Islands, if we exclude from the latter the Pelew cluster, which have been long celebrated in this country for the gentleness of their inhabitants. The narrative of Captain Wilson, who was wrecked there in 1783, has engaged in their favour the sympathy and affection of every English reader. His wants were supplied with the most generous kindness; and the king, animated by the desire to improve his subjects in the knowledge of European arts, sent his son, the Prince Lee Boo, to Britain, under the charge of his guest, who introduced the youth to the society of London. It is something singular that such of our countrymen as have since frequented those shores have returned with a very different character of the Pelew Islanders; representing them as displaying all the bad qualities incident to savage life. A similar impression had been received by Cantova and the Spanish missionaries who became acquainted with them about the beginning of last century. Even Wilson acknowledges to have witnessed the inhuman massacre of a number of prisoners who had been taken in battle; an occurrence which leaves no doubt with regard to the

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uncivilized condition in which the people of Abba Thulle were at the period of the shipwreck. Since that date our knowledge of the several islands which owned his dominion has not been materially enlarged, though their number, we are assured, amounts to twenty-eight, of which the largest is called Babeltoup, and is about sixty miles in length. There are no rivers in any of the Pelew group, the inhabitants being supplied with water from brooks and ponds. In 1783, there were no quadrupeds save rats; but now there are cattle, goats, and hogs, the benefaction of our navigators. The sheep that were carried thither have all been killed by the inhabitants for some reason which has not yet been ascertained; but the other animals, especially those of the bovine species, have increased abundantly, and such vessels as take the outer passage to Canton stop at these islands for provisions. The principal objects of cultivation, as in the windward stations, are yams, bananas, cocoa-nut trees, sugar-cane, and turmeric. In the forests are found ebony, and timber of so great a size that a single tree is frequently converted by the inhabitants into a canoe capable of holding thirty men. The natives are clearly of Malay extraction; they wear no clothes; their food is very simple; and their drink is limited to water and the juice of certain fruits.*

The Ladrones, which were discovered by Magellan on the 6th March 1521, received their name from the pilfering habits of the people, who, like their brethren of all shades of colour in the Pacific Ocean, were found to have very indistinct notions of property. At a later period they were called the Marian Islands, in honour of Mary Ann of Austria, the queen of Philip IV. of Spain, who issued orders for their settlement. Their number has been estimated at twenty; and they are

* Keate's Account of the Pelew Islands; and Delano's Narrative of Voyages and Travels. We ought to mention that this cluster, with others of the Caroline range, was discovered by Villalobos in 1543; but of his proceedings hardly any record is preserved.

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situated in lat. 13° and 21° N., and between long. 144° and 145° 30′ E. Having a plutonic origin, their surface is extremely irregular, and in many places rises into high mountains; but the soil, wherever it is capable of cultivation, is pronounced to be uncommonly fertile. Almost every kind of tropical production grows with great luxuriance, including cotton, rice, indigo, sugar, cocoa, tobacco, and plantains. For these, as well as for cattle, mules, horses, and asses, they are indebted to the Spaniards. Guam, or St John, and Tinian, or St Joseph, are perhaps the best known to Europeans. It was at the latter that Commodore Anson, in his voyage round the world, landed for refreshment to his crew who had already suffered greatly from disease. The author of the narrative which bears the name of that able navigator represents the island as a terrestrial paradise, abounding in every thing necessary to the subsistence and happiness of man; and being besides exceedingly delightful to the eye, diversified by a happy intermixture of valleys and gentle hills, the scenery was attended with a beneficial effect on the imagination of the patients. But the same island, when afterwards visited by Byron, was found to have become an uninhabitable wilderness, overgrown with impenetrable thickets. This melancholy change was owing to the oppressive policy of the conquerors, who compelled the natives to remove to another island: after their departure the country fell back into the state of nature, and is now a savage waste.

The people are represented as being tall, robust, and very active; and previously to the arrival of the Europeans, they thought themselves the only inhabitants of the world. They are naturally acute, lively, and ingenious; and the females are described as peculiarly cheerful in their disposition, and graceful in their deportment. Their mechanical talents were most conspicuous in the invention of that singular vessel called by our seamen the flying prow, which has been admired by all, and chiefly by those whose skill in naval architecture qualified them to form the most accurate judgment. With a brisk wind

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it sails at the rate of twenty miles an hour. Before the invasion of the Spaniards, they appear not to have been subjected to any regular form of government; every man assuming the privilege of vindicating his own rights, and avenging his own quarrels. Hence hostilities frequently broke out among the inhabitants of different districts; but it is said their battles were not often sanguinary, usually terminating with the slaughter of the leading combatants. The population of Guam, however, has almost entirely disappeared. In the middle of the seventeenth century they were estimated at a hundred and fifty thousand, whereas, according to the latest accounts, not more than one family of the aboriginal race remained. Kotzebue relates, that when the subjects of Philip took possession of the Marians, most of the inhabitants fled to the Caroline group. "Could I have transported myself," says he, "back to the time when Magellan discovered these islands, the Rurick would long since have been surrounded by many canoes with happy islanders. This was not the case now; the introduction of the christian religion has not diffused here its benign blessings, for since that time the whole race of the natives has been extirpated. We looked in vain for a canoe, or a man on the shore; and it almost seemed as if we were off an uninhabited island. The sight of this lovely country deeply affected me. Formerly these fertile valleys were the abode of a nation who passed their days in tranquil happiness; now, only the beautiful palm-trees remained to overshadow their graves: a death-like silence every where prevailed."*

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* Voyage of Discovery into the South Sea and Behring's Straits, by Otto Von Kotzebue, vol. ii. p. 231. In this work he calls the principal island Guahon, and its capital Aguna; but in his "New Voyage," he writes it Agadna. By the Spaniards the one is spelled Guajam, and the other Agana. The Russian commander, whose descriptive powers have been more admired than his discretion, remarks, that the "scenery was very romantic, and seemed a paradise to us, after so long a voyage; and at the same time, the air, with its odoriferous perfumes, had such a beneficial influence on us, that we all felt ourselves

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The same navigator again visited the Ladrones in 1824, when he found that the happiness of the people was still farther diminished by the despotism or ignorance of a bad ruler, who was even accused of having put several English and American sailors to an unjust death. The Spanish government ordered his recall, and Medenilla, whose wise measures had given rise to unwonted prosperity, was again charged with the administration of that remote settlement.

The religion of the natives, when the islands were first discovered, was a destructive superstition, consisting, so far as principle was concerned, of the belief in a malignant demon, whom they were taught by their priests to appease through the medium of sacrifices the most painful and revolting. But that worship gave way under the influence of the conquerors, who conferred upon them the knowledge of the true faith, which, when obscured by certain rites, however well calculated to occupy the attention of the rude mind, is very apt to degenerate into a modified idolatry. Images of the Virgin and

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strengthened. The village of Massu consists of about fifteen houses, which are built in a straight line, and the spaces between them filled up with gardens. The structure is different from any thing we saw on our voyage. The house, which is from eight to ten feet square, rests on four pillars, raised five feet above the ground; the floors and walls are made of bamboo canes, which are placed so far apart from each other, that you can put your hand between them, which gives the whole house the appearance of a cage, where you may see every thing passing in the inside without entering. The construction is well adapted to the climate; the wind passes through the house, and cools and purifies the air; the roof, thatched with rushes, protects it against the rain, and the pillars against the vermin; but the appearance is extremely ludicrous, particularly if the family is in it. A large stone cross before the village, and a small one which they wear round the neck, showed the christian faith."—Vol. ii. p. 237.

Their canoes or *proas*, mentioned in the text, are convex on one side, and straight on the other. By joining two boats of the same size with a board, several islanders of the great Otdia have formed vessels which Sir Sidney Smith thought worthy of being introduced into the navies of Europe.—See Annual Register, 1805. Notice of the Experiments of Sir Sidney Smith, by Mr Boswell.

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Child replaced, very generally in the Philippines and Ladrones, the hideous figures which the aboriginal savages had hewn out for themselves as representatives of those powerful spirits whose wrath they endeavoured to turn away, or whose favour they had resolved to purchase. In the days of Spanish adventure in the South Sea, clergymen accompanied every discovery ship, with the view of disseminating the kindly seeds of the christian religion ; and there can be no doubt that wherever their exertions were directed to a proper field, they must have softened the temper of the natives, withdrawn them from the horrid ceremonies of their primeval superstition, and introduced among their fierce warriors the love of peace. But whatever may have been the fruits actually produced, the motives which influenced the missionaries were worthy of all praise ; and, while we may regret that some attempt was not made to convey the knowledge of letters and the useful arts to their ignorant catechumens, we do not less highly appreciate the amount of the sacrifices they themselves consented to make, and the extreme sufferings which in many cases they were compelled to endure.

Guam is now the only island inhabited, and the population, according to the latest accounts, amounted to about five thousand five hundred, consisting chiefly of settlers from Mexico and the Philippines. They are all Christians, and speak the Spanish language, but acknowledge no relationship to the original tribes whom they have displaced, though not a few, it is surmised, inherit their blood through the line of the female parent.

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CHAPTER IX.

Sandwich Islands.

Sandwich Islands discovered by Captain Cook—Visited by La Perouse—Their geographical Position and Extent—Enterprise of the Chiefs—Seizure of an American Schooner—State in which Vancouver found the Natives—Rise of Tamehameha—He cedes to Vancouver the Sovereignty of the Islands—Trade with civilized Nations—Attempt made by Russians—Character of Tamehameha as a Reformer—Missionaries sent from America—Notice of Obookiah—The Way paved for Christianity by Rihoriho the young King—Taboo explained—Its Abolition—Supposed Motives of the Sovereign—The People admit the Change—An Attempt to revive Idolatry—Operations of the Missionaries, and Success—Religious Movement throughout the World—Chiefs devote themselves to the Study of Letters—King and Queen visit England, where they both die—Various Opinions as to the Effect of Christianity on the native Mind—Statements by Kotzebue, Lord Byron, and Captain Beechey—Funeral of the King and Queen—Laws recommended by Lord Byron—State of Society described—Great Good accomplished by Missionaries—Stewart's Journal—Vast Improvement in Manners and Accommodation—Palace, Guards, and Dress of the Court—Dedication of a Church—Progress of Luxury—Civilisation continues to advance—A "religious Awakening" in several Islands—Cautious Behaviour of a Missionary—Remarks on such Occurrences.

It is well known that these islands were discovered, on the 18th January 1778, by Captain Cook, who named them in honour of Earl Sandwich, at that time First Lord of the Admiralty. Eight years afterwards, they were visited by La Perouse, who landed at Mowee; and about

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the same period, two vessels, engaged in the fur-trade on the north-western shores of America, procured refreshments at Woahoo. Other merchantmen are understood to have followed from time to time the same track; and hence a frequent and rather confidential intercourse was established between foreigners from various parts of the civilized world and the simple natives, who now began to set some value on the productions of their soil.

The Sandwich Islands lie between the parallels of 18° 24′ and 22° 15′ north, extending in longitude from 154° 56′ to 160° 23′ west. Their number is usually limited to ten; and the names by which, according to the latest orthography, they are known among the natives, are Hawaii (Owhyhee), Oahu, Maui, Tauai, Morokai, Ranai, Morokini, Nihau, Taura, and Tahurawe. They are distant about two thousand eight hundred miles from Mexico on the east, five thousand from the shores of China on the west, and two thousand seven hundred from the Society Islands on the south.*

Owhyhee, the most southern and largest of the whole, is about ninety-seven miles long, seventy-eight broad, and was supposed, when first discovered by the English, to contain eighty-five thousand inhabitants. Woahoo is forty-six miles in length, and twenty-three in breadth, with a population of about twenty thousand. Towee, situated seventy-five miles north-west from the latter, is somewhat smaller in dimensions, and is supposed to possess only ten thousand residents. Mowee is forty-

* For the reasons already assigned, we retain the more ancient spelling as being familiar to the general reader, though perfectly satisfied that the letter o prefixed to Hawaii and Tahiti is no part of either word, but simply the mark of a case. The missionaries state, that the names of the several islands ought to be written and pronounced as follows:—

Ha-wai-i	Hah-wye-e	Moro-kai	Moro-kye
Mau-i	Mow-ee	O-a-hu	O-ah-hoo
Moro-kini	Moro-keenee	Tau-ai	Tow-aye
Tahu-ra-we	Tah-hoo, rah-way	Ni-hau	Nee-how
Ra-nai	Rah-nye	Tau-ra	Tow-ra

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eight miles long and thirty broad, its people being computed at twenty thousand. The others are of less importance; and Taura, in particular, is nothing more than a rocky islet, visited almost exclusively by those who seek a livelihood from gathering the eggs of sea-fowl which frequent it in great numbers.

Before the year 1792, when the expedition under Vancouver touched at that interesting group, civilisation had advanced at a rapid pace. Several of the chiefs, availing themselves of the opportunity supplied by English and American ships, had made voyages to distant parts. One had gone to China; others had sailed to the settlements near California; and several had gratified their curiosity by a short residence in the United States. Enlightened by this experience, the people became so sensible of the advantages of a mercantile navy, that they made an attempt to take possession of some small vessels which had entered their harbours. Nay, they actually seized by force an American schooner, the crew of which they murdered, with the exception of Richard Davies, the mate, who happening to be on shore, found refuge with the King of Owhyhee, in whose service he afterwards remained.

The advantage of firearms to a people so frequently engaged in war did not fail to attract their attention, and several foreigners, accordingly, who looked only to a favourable exchange of commodities, furnished them with muskets and ammunition. A number of Europeans, too, who, from various motives, had quitted their ships, instructed the natives in the use of artillery, as well as in the more simple principles of fortification. Many of the chiefs, meanwhile, had erected houses of stone, adopted in part the European dress, and even ingrafted on their scanty vocabulary such English terms as were necessary to express their new ideas, or to give names to their recent acquisitions. Owing to these causes, when Vancouver arrived he found not only the means of an easy communication with the leading persons in the several islands, but also an ardent desire to

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profit by his superior knowledge, and to secure the good will of the powerful nation to which he belonged.

At the time when Cook made known to the world the existence of the Sandwich group, the four principal isles were governed by as many independent kings, who, being frequently at war, committed great havock on each other's domains. But, about the year 1782, Tamehameha, originally a chief of inferior rank, and possessing only two small districts in Owhyhee, rose against his lawful prince, who appears to have been a cousin or even a nearer relative, and at length, by his superior talents, acquired possession of the whole cluster. The origin of the war is involved in some mystery. Kavarao, the chief ruler, is described as a tyrant, whereas his rival, who had shown an enterprising spirit from his earliest youth, possessed very popular manners, and thereby acquired great influence over the public mind. A sanguinary engagement took place, near the bay where Captain Cook was murdered, which ended in the death of the king, and the captivity of his daughter Keopuolani, who had attended her father to the field. In order to unite the right of succession to that of conquest, the victor married his prisoner, and by this means obviated a powerful competition for the throne, which must otherwise have arisen to disturb his government. At the same time, he received into favour a young commander who had belonged to the vanquished party, and who, under the name of Karaimoku, displayed such abilities, both as a councillor and warrior, as amply to justify the confidence bestowed upon him by his royal patron.

In 1792, the war was not yet brought to a close, for though the whole of Owhyhee and Mowee acknowledged the authority of Tamehameha, the remainder of the islands were still governed by the independent kings of Towee and Woahoo. Owing to a destructive pestilence which had carried its ravages over the whole archipelago, an armistice was mutually accepted ; and it was at this crisis that Vancouver, on board the Discovery, made

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his appearance in those seas. Both classes of belligerents courted the aid of the English officer, whose interposition, they were aware, would decide the contest in favour of the cause which he should choose to embrace. But he firmly declined to interfere in a civil war, the result of which he knew must be closely connected with the future fortunes of the country, and resolutely refused to supply to either side the arms that they both most earnestly solicited. He conferred upon them, however, a much greater boon, in a breed of cattle and of sheep, which Tamehameha immediately declared should be tabooed, or held sacred, for ten years; and the climate being favourable to these animals, the country is now well stocked with both, so that ships, in addition to fresh vegetables, are supplied with excellent beef. The foreigners resident in Owhyhee had also introduced the culture of many fruits and esculent plants; while, by the care that they bestowed on the goats which had been left on their island by successive navigators, they gradually made the natives acquainted with the luxuries of the dairy, and with a variety of meat more delicate than they had hitherto known.

But Tamehameha had sufficient penetration to perceive that, in proportion as his insular dominions should become important in the eyes of Europeans, the independence of his government would be exposed to greater hazard. It was already suspected that the Americans, as well as the Russians, were desirous to form settlements on one or other of the islands; and therefore he resolved to place himself under the protection of a powerful nation, which, from its ascendency as a maritime state, would defeat the designs of others. It was in pursuance of this policy that he ceded to Vancouver, as the representative of the English monarch, a supremacy which he had not yet completely established in his own right. In return, our countryman assisted the aspiring rebel to build a small vessel, which proved of essential service to him in his future expeditions, so that, in the course of a few months, by the death of the King of

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Woahoo, who fell in battle, he became sole master of the principal islands. Soon afterwards the ruler of Towee and Nihau, intimidated by the news of his triumph, acknowledged himself a vassal, and consented to hold the government as a tributary prince.

The success of Tamehameha, whose wisdom was equal to his courage, and who was known to be desirous of an intercourse with civilized nations, opened the path to traders of every class, more especially from England and America. Indeed the discovery of some excellent harbours in the island of Woahoo, which had escaped the notice of Vancouver when examining the coast, made them become the resort of ships from all countries, which, during a lengthened voyage in the Northern Pacific, might require repairs, water, or provisions. Sandal-wood, an article of great value in the Chinese market, was found in the mountains, and soon proved the means of an extensive commerce with foreigners. In return for this production, the natives at first were satisfied with pieces of iron, nails, and coarse cloth; afterwards, as their notions of exchangeable value expanded, they required axes, guns, muskets, powder, and shot; next they bargained for Chinese, American, and British manufactures; and finally, aspiring, as we have said, to the possession of ships, they purchased with the fruits of their industry schooners and brigs measuring several hundred tons. Without doubt, the local position of the Sandwich Isles renders them highly important to all the great trading communities of either hemisphere. On the north are the Russian settlements along the coast of their Asiatic territories; towards the north-west are the dominions of Japan; due west are the Marian Islands, the Philippines, and Canton; and on the east are California and Mexico. The establishment of the independent states of South America has of late greatly increased their value as an emporium for the commerce of that remote section of the globe, as they lie in the very track pursued by vessels passing thence to China or Calcutta. They are visited too, as has already been noticed, by

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those who trade in furs in the countries bordering on Nootka Sound, as well as by the whalers, who, having found the sperm-whale on the coast of Japan, annually frequent the Northern Pacific.

Meantime a friendly intercourse was kept up with the British government, on whose aid the new sovereign relied for opposing the attempts of certain adventurers who seemed determined to take possession of his islands. In particular, a person named Schiffer had excited a rebellion in Towee, which was promoted by the Russians of Petropaulauska, though not openly countenanced by the cabinet of St Petersburg. In acknowledging a gift sent by the ruler of the Sandwich Isles, George the Third assures him of his friendship, and announces that he has commanded the English navy to respect all ships sailing under the flag of his majesty King Tamehameha. A vessel built at Port Jackson was at the same time presented to him, by the direction of the same monarch, as a mark of gratitude for the kindness shown to such British subjects as had happened to enter his harbours. Intent on the improvement of foreign commerce, the usurper bought two brigs from the Americans, for which he paid in provisions and sandal-wood. Confiding the charge of his cargoes to Europeans, he sent the latter commodity and other productions to the China market, whence, besides the luxuries now required by his people, he received large sums of money, of which he already began to appreciate the convenience. His warehouses were soon filled with articles suited either for barter or commerce with the traders who should touch at his ports; and it is computed that in one year produce from his several islands was sold at Canton to the value of not less than four thousand dollars.

In all respects, he displayed the spirit of a reformer, being little restricted by the belief or usages of his countrymen. Feeling that the independent power of the priests was dangerous to his authority, he assumed at an early period of his reign the sacerdotal functions in connexion with those of royalty. But it is supposed that a

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nearer acquaintance with the machinery of superstition soon alienated his mind from all reliance on the ancient gods of Owhyhee; at all events, there is no doubt that, before his death, he often expressed dissatisfaction at the useless forms of his own religion, and an earnest desire to know the principles of the faith professed by more civilized nations.*

Like all other persons in the same early stage of society, he seems to have estimated the power of supernatural beings, and also their claim to adoration, by the extent of the benefits which they were enabled to confer upon their votaries. Having adopted this standard, he could not long hesitate in preferring the divinities to which Europeans were understood to bow the knee. The high attainments of the strangers compared with the ignorance of his own people; their power too, viewed as arising from their knowledge, contrasted with the feeble efforts of savages, even when inspired with the most daring courage; and, above all, the comforts and conveniences which spring from a successful application of the arts to the advancement of society, could not fail to make an impression on a mind so vigorous as that of the king, and thereby to lead to a change more or less advantageous. But he had to combat the same prejudices, sanguinary propensities, and corruptions, which had so long opposed reformation in the Society Islands, and even endangered the existence of the ancient government at Otaheite and Eimeo. The superstition at Owhyhee presented features not less horrible, and possessed over the public mind an influence still more enthralling than that of Tongataboo or Savaii. To attempt any immediate or direct change in the faith of his subjects must necessarily have been attended with much hazard to his own power, as well as to the progress of the great plan which he had formed for their future welfare. He therefore, in the mean time, contented himself with

* Voyage of H. M. S. Blonde to the Sandwich Islands in the Years 1824-1825, Captain the Right Hon. Lord Byron Commander (4to, Lond. 1826), p. 40.

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granting every facility to the ingress of enlightened foreigners, whose example, it was hoped, would give birth to a spirit of industry, and whose wealth would enrich a large class of the people who were now employed either in producing the commodities required for exportation, or in superintending the details of traffic.

But a cause was about to be called into operation, on the aid of which Tamehameha had not calculated, though he had perhaps heard of its effects in the islands beyond the equator. The reader is aware that, so early as the year 1796, the Missionary Society had sent out teachers to several of the windward islands of Polynesia, where their success, though various according to circumstances, presented very little encouragement to the authors of this benevolent scheme. The evangelist left at the Marquesas, after spending about a year among the people, returned in despair; and the establishment at the Friendly Islands was relinquished in a similar manner, after some of the individuals of which it was composed had sunk under the hands of the natives. While the efforts of the institution were continued under circumstances so inauspicious, and with a degree of perseverance which has since been compensated by an extensive conversion among all ranks, several causes prevented them from making any efforts for communicating the knowledge of the gospel to the Sandwich Islanders. The saving light of Christianity reached them through a different channel. About the beginning of this century, the natives began to enter into the service of foreign ships as seamen, and in pursuit of this occupation several individuals at length reached the United States. Among these was a youth named Obookiah, who arrived at New York in 1809, and, being of an inquisitive turn of mind, manifested an anxious desire for instruction. The contrast presented by a civilized people, when compared with the degraded state of his own nation sunk in ignorance and idolatry, made a deep impression upon his feelings; and obtaining admittance into Yale College, he rapidly advanced in the usual studies, stimulated by the

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hope that he might be qualified to convey to others the treasure on which he himself set so high a value. Above all, being a sincere convert to the true religion, and animated with zeal for the conversion of his countrymen, he constantly looked forward to the day when he might be permitted to return home, to make known to his relations the existence of the only true God, and the hope of immortality as manifested through Jesus Christ.

A society was formed in the year 1810, denominated the "American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions," the chief seat of whose operations was in the city of Boston, though its members were drawn from various parts of the commonwealth. Hearing of Obookiah and other young adventurers from the Pacific, they established a seminary at Cornwall, called the "Foreign Mission School," the object of which was to educate such persons preparatory to their being sent back as teachers to their respective islands. The student of Yale College was placed on this new foundation; but before he could complete the course of instruction suitable for the duties on which it was intended he should enter, he was removed from his labours by the hand of death in the month of February 1818. This event, however, did not long delay the fulfilment of the design, now generally entertained, of conveying the blessings of the gospel to the inhabitants of the Sandwich group. In the autumn of the following year, a company of missionaries, under the patronage of the board just mentioned, sailed from Boston, carrying with them four natives, one of whom was son to the tributary king of Towee, and had been sent to America for his education. The barbarous death inflicted on Captain Cook, and the massacre of other foreigners at later periods, had produced an impression that the people they were about to visit were more savage and bloodthirsty than any other tribe of the South Sea. All maritime persons who were consulted in reference to the contemplated mission, declared that the natives were too much addicted to their pagan customs ever to relinquish them; that they would

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never abandon their priests with the sacrifices and taboos; that the christian teachers could not possibly succeed in their attempt to convert such idolaters, but that they would be robbed and driven away, or most probably murdered for the sake of their property.

It was not, therefore, without solicitude that intelligence was expected from the adventurous missionaries. At length, after a delay of seventeen months, letters arrived announcing not only their safe arrival, but also that a door had been previously opened for them, by which they could at once enter upon their labours with every prospect of a happy issue. As they approached the shore, their vessel was surrounded by natives in boats, who exclaimed "the gods of Owhyhee are no more; Tamehameha is dead; Rihoriho is king; the taboo is abolished; and the idols are destroyed."

The way had been already paved for this determination on the part of the young monarch. His father, whose eyes were opened to the benefits of civilisation, had, there is no doubt, impressed upon his mind the expediency of superseding the ancient system by one which would be attended with an increase of knowledge, wealth, and power. The method adopted by Rihoriho for promulgating his resolution was precisely that of which Pomare, the Otaheitan sovereign, had set the example. Proceeding on the principle that the essence of Polynesian belief consists in the divine origin of the taboo, he determined to unchain the minds of his subjects from their contemptible superstition by an open violation of its precepts, and a direct defiance of the gods who were supposed to have enjoined it. The term in question, though usually restricted to such things only as were forbidden, had a much more comprehensive signification, and was applied to all persons and objects which were consecrated or devoted to the service of the invisible powers. On this broader ground, not only the priests and temples, but also the king and the chiefs who could boast of a heavenly descent were at all times considered taboo. The same character of sacredness was attached

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to every thing in the slightest degree connected with their idolatrous usages. But in practice it varied greatly both in extent and duration. Sometimes only a single tree or a single animal was tabooed, and at other seasons a whole grove or herd. Sometimes only one house, a small piece of land, or a fishing-station; on other occasions, an extensive district or even a whole island was subjected to its influence. Sometimes it was limited to a day, at others it continued during weeks and even months. When applied to seasons, however, it varied in the rigour with which it was enforced; demanding, in some cases, a cessation only from ordinary work and amusement, while at others it enjoined an entire seclusion from the world, under the penalty of death. Every fire was extinguished, every sound, even to the crowing of a cock, or barking of a dog, was prevented, and a universal silence reigned throughout the whole district where the inhibition was proclaimed. Hence it is manifest, that, though intimately connected with the services of religion, the taboo, so far from consisting of any fixed observances, was in its requisitions both arbitrary and uncertain. As an instrument of power, it might be made to assume any shape which interest or caprice should happen to dictate, and to extend to all things sacred or civil, public or domestic. Besides, as every breach of it was punishable with death, it became an instrument in the hands of the sovereign and priesthood by which the people were governed as with a rod of iron.

But though the taboo was changeable in its times and forms, there were certain points in which it was universal and unalterable. For instance, the best kinds of food were consecrated either to the use of the gods or of the male sex, the women being excluded from all participation in hogs, fowls, cocoa-nuts, bananas, the better kinds of fish, and various other viands. On the same principle, females were prohibited from entering the houses of the men, even of their parents and husbands. Now, it was on these more domestic restrictions, which

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were most frequently witnessed and most deeply felt, that the king resolved to make the first inroad, and thereby give a signal for the abolition of the whole, and, as a matter of course, for the complete downfal of idolatry. Having secretly consulted the high-priest and certain chiefs on whose co-operation he could rely, he announced a great entertainment, to which all the foreign traders and residents were invited. Two long tables, the one for men and the other for women, according to the former system of discrimination, were spread in the open air, surrounded by a great multitude of the common people. After the banquet was served, and all the company had taken their seats, his majesty rose with a dish in his hand denied to females, and advancing deliberately towards their board, sat down amongst them, and invited those nearest to him to partake of the meat, which he began to eat in their presence. Immediately the whole assembly exclaimed, that the food was no longer sacred, but common! The high-priest now rushed forth and set fire to an adjoining temple, and agents were sent in all directions to commence a similar conflagration. In a very few days every heathen fane throughout the Sandwich Islands was reduced to ashes, and the idols which escaped the flames were cast out as useless lumber, or reserved only as objects of curiosity to strangers.*

This event has elsewhere been somewhat differently related, though the result is the same. It is supposed that the young king Rihoriho, or Tamehameha the Second, shared his father's scepticism in regard to the national idolatry; and that upon expressing his doubts to the principal chiefs, they readily concurred in the expediency of an entire change. It was necessary, however, to obtain the sanction of his mother, Keopuolani, who, as the daughter of the legitimate monarch, enjoyed a higher rank in the estimation of the public than could be communicated to

* The Private Journal of the Rev. C. S. Stewart, late Missionary to the Sandwich Islands (Dublin, 1830), pp. 7, 8.

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him by his father, whose right to the throne was doubtful. Upon being reminded that the worship of the idols was burdensome, that they required human sacrifice, and that gods of wood could not protect them, she gave her consent to the meditated revolution. Some have asserted that the abolition of taboo was a mere frolic on the part of Rihoriho; but there is no ground for questioning the belief that the measure had been deliberately considered, and the execution maturely planned.*

It is not easy to appreciate all the motives which led Rihoriho to a determination at once so bold and important. There cannot, however, be any doubt that his intercourse with foreigners must have created scepticism as to the supposed origin of his faith, and a feeling of contempt for its superstitious ritual. The enlightened European could not conceal from him the sentiment of abhorrence with which human sacrifice, infanticide, and the humiliation of the softer sex were regarded; while, as to the reverence manifested towards the unseemly idols of wood or stone, the most superficial exercise of reason must have convicted him of childish credulity. At the same time, it is not improbable that his resolution may have been strengthened by his knowledge of what had taken place some years before at the Society Islands. At all events, the American missionaries met a favourable reception from him and the principal chiefs. They were immediately established in Owhyhee, Woahoo, and Towee, with such prospects of extensive usefulness, that the first communication from them to their patrons at home were accompanied by an earnest application for a greater number of teachers.†

Mr Ellis is convinced that the main purpose of the king in pursuing the decisive course just described, was, in the first place, a desire to improve the condition of

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* Lord Byron's Voyage to the Sandwich Islands, p. 43-46. In the introduction to this work are some valuable notices illustrating the history and manners of this primitive people.

† Stewart's Journal, p. 9.

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the women, and especially of his wives, whom the taboo sunk into a state of extreme wretchedness and degradation. He seems also to have been influenced by a wish to diminish the power of the priests, as well as to prevent that useless expense and those cruel privations which were demanded by the established idolatry. It is manifest, however, that he had secured the connivance or approbation of the principal members of the sacred order, by whose means he removed from the minds of the multitude the dread that a signal vengeance from the gods would follow the abandonment of their worship. The guardian of the war-idol declared that no evil would follow the change which the sovereign recommended; and as soon as the marais with their bloody altars were thrown down, he resigned his office, as having no longer either object or authority.*

The views of the common people being less disguised, were more easily comprehended. When asked by the missionaries who was their god, they said they had none; formerly they had many, but now, having cast them all away, they worshipped no idol. Being interrogated whether they had done well in rejecting them, they replied in the affirmative, for the taboo occasioned much labour and inconvenience, besides draining off the best part of their property. They were asked whether it was a good thing to have no god, and to recognise no being to whom they ought to render religious homage; to this they answered, that perhaps it was good, for they had not to provide for the great sacrifices, and were under no fear of punishment for breaking taboo; that now one fire cooked their food, and men and women ate together the same kind of provisions.†

But though the people in general adopted the sentiments of their king, a considerable party showed a disposition to check the current of innovation. Kekuaokalani, to whom the late sovereign, a short time before his death, confided the care of the gods and their temples,

* Polynesian Researches, vol. iv. p. 126. † Ibid. p. 201.

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took up arms, moved, it was thought, by ambitious views not less than by zeal for the expiring superstition. A decisive battle was fought in the autumn of the year 1819, which, after continuing from morning till sunset, terminated in favour of Rihoriho, who was gratified by the intelligence that his enemy had fallen. This victory made him sole and undisputed monarch of the Sandwich Islands, the summit of his ambition and the consummation of his wishes, inasmuch as no member of the older branch of his family any longer remained who had power or inclination to dispute with him the ascendency to which he had attained.

The abolition of idolatry was now complete; and for a time the whole country was without any outward or visible religion. In private, it is probable, the wonted demands of the ancient ceremonies were complied with; the statues thrown down in the light were replaced during the darkness; and the barbarian, bound by his fears to the power of the invisible god, practised when alone the rites of his deprecatory worship. At all events, a wide space was cleared for the exertions of the christian missionary before any of the brotherhood touched the shores; and whatever grounds of opposition the gospel had to encounter, we must not enumerate amongst them the jealousy of a bigoted government or the resistance of an established faith.

We have no intention of entering into a minute narrative of the proceedings which issued in the conversion of the natives throughout the wide archipelago where the American teachers thus obtained a footing. In due time, they received aid and encouragement from some English friends, whose experience in the Society Islands had qualified them to communicate useful directions to their fellow-labourers in the gospel. Mr Ellis, as formerly stated, accompanied thither the two commissioners sent out by the directors in London, and during his short stay, not only taught the anxious people the things which concerned their everlasting peace, but presided over arrangements which seemed calculated to secure to them

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a permanent ministry, as well as the means of instruction for their children.

In 1831, the Board at Boston issued a statement relative to the necessity and claims of similar institutions, in which they give an outline of their success during the period which had elapsed from the commencement of their operations. Ten years ago, say they, there were no books in the Sandwich Islands; now two presses cannot supply what is wanted, though more than twenty thousand volumes are annually thrown off. Ten years ago, reading and writing were unknown to all classes; now thousands write, and many thousands read. Ten years ago, there was not a single school in the whole group; now six hundred natives, instructed by the missionaries, are employed as teachers in the several islands. Ten years ago, the natives, without exception, were ignorant of God, his law, and his gospel; they were pagans, addicted to infanticide, intemperance, and all the abominable vices of the lowest savage life; the whole mass, indeed, was so corrupt, that their numbers were rapidly diminishing in consequence of crimes injurious to the progress of population. Now the moral code contained in the ten commandments is the law of the land; the whole nation is at least professedly christian; the order, decency, and comfort of civilized life are rapidly gaining ground; multitudes are exemplary in their conduct, and not a few are truly pious.

In Woahoo alone, there is a society of three thousand five hundred persons of both sexes, who meet weekly for prayer; and in the same island there is an association, amounting to a thousand, formed for the purpose of religious inquiry and the suppression of vice. All the members solemnly bind themselves not to distil, or buy, or sell, or drink any kind of ardent spirits; not to offer them to their friends, nor to give them to their labourers. The great work of preparation, at least, has been accomplished. In most parts, a missionary can now enter sooner on his labours, and accomplish much more in the same time, and to greater advantage, than he could some years

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ago. He has ampler facilities for learning the language, manners, customs, prejudices, and wants of the people. He can converse and preach much sooner; and the press, aided by the desire of the natives to read, increases his power beyond calculation. Thus, there has been produced not only an increased demand for the services of such men, but also an augmented value in their exertions, whether in school or pulpit.

Much has no doubt been accomplished, but, in point of fact, the process of evangelizing the world has only commenced. The labourers as yet bear no proportion to the boundless extent of the harvest which will hereafter be reaped. In every quarter of the globe the old systems of false religion are losing their hold on the public mind, and the inhabitants are looking wistfully to Christendom for aid. The consecrated walls of China are falling into dust; no new temples of heathenism are building on the vast plains of India, and the old ones are crumbling into ruins. Of the Brahmins, formerly accounted so sacred that their curse or blessing was supposed to convey the wrath or the smile of heaven, many have deserted their profession, and betaken themselves to some secular employment. The rain-makers of Southern Africa can no longer maintain their influence; the system of witchcraft, so cunningly devised, and so sternly supported in that extensive continent, ceases to assail the fears of the Caffre or Hottentot; and the crude intellect of those barbarians, gradually matured by the light of knowledge, and the warmth of christian zeal, has at length begun to put forth its powers, and to vindicate for them a place among intelligent beings. Every where the ears of the faithful catch the sound of that inspiring voice, "Behold, I make all things new."*

* Memoirs of American Missionaries, with an Introductory Essay, by the Rev. Gavin Struthers, and a Dissertation on the Consolations of a Missionary, by the Rev. Levi Parsons, p. xxv. Glasgow, 1834. In this little volume are to be found some interesting notices relative to the settlement of missionaries in the Sandwich Islands.

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It is not perhaps unworthy of notice, that Tameha-meha II., who afterwards proved a pupil remarkable at once for his zeal and assiduity, was at first disposed to reject the services of the christian teachers. Some of the traders who frequented his ports excited his fears or jealousy, by representing to him that the missionaries would probably interfere with the government of the islands, and that the influence they would certainly gain over his people might be rendered dangerous to his power. After a short deliberation, however, he determined to admit them. His desire for obtaining knowledge in the worship and literature of Europeans overcame all other considerations; besides, he recollected that their number was so small, that it would be easy to repress their in-subordination should they manifest any symptom of misconduct. He gave them a piece of ground for a church near his own residence, assigning also houses and gardens sufficient for all their wants; while he himself, his queen, and other chiefs of both sexes, applied dili-gently to the task of learning to read and write. In this latter art their progress was so rapid that they were soon able to address letters to each other; an attainment which occasioned the greatest satisfaction, viewed simply as an amusement, but still more when regarded in the light of a convenience, political or commercial.*

* In reference to the suspicions entertained by the natives as to the motives of Europeans who visited their country, we quote a paragraph from Mr Ellis. When in Owhyhee, he entered into conversation with the people on the subject of missionaries. "In general they approved, saying, they had dark minds and needed instruction. Some, however, seemed to doubt the pro-priety of foreigners coming to reside permanently among them. They said, they had heard that in several countries where fo-reigners had intermingled with the original natives, the latter had soon disappeared; and should missionaries come to live at Waiakea, perhaps the land would ultimately become theirs, and the *kanaka maore* (aborigines) cease to be its occupiers. I told them that had been the case in some countries; but that the residence of missionaries among them, so far from produ-cing it, was designed and eminently calculated to prevent a consequence so melancholy. At the close of this interview, some again repeated that it would be good for missionaries to come; others expressed doubt and hesitation."—Vol. iv. p. 319.

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As the mind of the young king expanded under the lessons of his tutors, he became more deeply struck with the difference between his own subjects and the natives of a civilized country, and also with a desire to extend among the former the improvement which had merely begun. But in forming the resolution to visit England, he is supposed to have been partly influenced by the motives already mentioned, more especially the wish to protect his dominions against the designs of other nations who might attempt without his permission to establish settlements on the coast. Actuated by a sense of his own weakness, similar to that which led his father to make a formal cession of the whole islands to Great Britain, he conceived that a personal interview with the English monarch might still more effectually secure his protection, and even assist him in following out the plan he had formed for the advancement of his people in the elements of learning, as well as in the principles of true religion. The result of the voyage is known to every one. Rihoriho and his consort died of measles in July 1824, without having obtained the object for which they had left their distant home, a conference with George the Fourth. His majesty, however, conferred upon their official attendants the honour which he had not an opportunity of granting to the young sovereign. In the month of September he received them at Windsor; and though prepared for the magnificence of his court and the graciousness of his manner, they were not a little astonished at both. They were deeply affected by the kindness of his expressions when speaking of the death of their king, and of his wishes for the prosperity of their native islands; but above all, their joy was great at the promises of protection to their government against all foreign designs.*

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* Lord Byron's Voyage, p. 72. As the king had expressed a desire that the remains of himself and his queen should be conveyed to the Sandwich Islands, orders were issued to the Admiralty to prepare the Blonde frigate, commanded by the young nobleman just named, for this solemn duty. His lordship sailed

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In relation to the royal couple, it is remarked, that, young as they were, untrained by scholarship or by example, they had broken down the barriers of superstition, paved the way for laws, literature, and true religion; and, in the hope of securing the protection of the state which they deemed most likely and most able to guard them, they had completed a voyage round one-half of the globe, and died in a foreign land, feeling less regret at the loss of life than that they had not fully accomplished the object of their heroic expedition. "Perhaps," says Lord Byron, "the perfect faith reposed in the English by the people of the islands, is the strongest proof that ever could be given by a whole nation of simple-mindedness and freedom from guile. There was not a moment's irritation, not a moment's suspicion that unfair means had been used to shorten their days; and we were received as brothers who would sympathize with their grief, and as friends who would be glad to heal their wounds."*

The various facts stated in this chapter must remove all doubt from the mind of the reader as to the extent of the revolution effected in the Sandwich Islands dur-

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from Spithead on the 29th September 1824, and the bodies were landed at Honoruru on the 11th May following.

* Voyage, p. 125. Mr Ellis writes of Rihoriho as follows:—"His general knowledge of the world was much greater than could have been expected. I have heard him entertain a party of chiefs for hours together with accounts of different parts of the earth, describing the extensive lakes, the mountains, and mines of North and South America; the elephants and inhabitants of India, the houses and manufactures of England, with no small accuracy, considering that he had never seen them. He had a great thirst for knowledge, and was diligent in his studies. I recollect his remarking one day, when he opened his writing-desk, that he expected more advantage from that desk than from a fine brig belonging to him, lying at anchor opposite the house wherein we were sitting. Mr Bingham and myself were his daily teachers, and have often been surprised at his unwearied perseverance. I have sat beside him at his desk sometimes from nine or ten o'clock in the morning till nearly sunset, during which period his pen or his book has not been out of his hand more than three quarters of an hour, while he was at dinner."—Vol. iv. p. 446.

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ing the five years which preceded the demise of Tamehameha the Second. Opinion has been less determined in regard to the moral improvement of the people; their knowledge of the religion which they now profess to hold; and the depth to which it has descended in their affections. The reports of the missionary have been called in question, both because he may be suspected of a wish to magnify the fruits of his labour, and because, in his intercourse with his converts, he may be deceived by appearances which require a closer inspection than he is willing to bestow. Like a good-natured teacher, he gives his pupil credit for greater progress than he has really made, thereby gratifying at once a certain vanity in himself, and in the other a love of praise, which is not a stranger even to the least cultivated mind. Aware of these sources of error, we think ourselves entitled to make a due allowance, both when we read the narratives of nautical adventurers, who view things through an unfavourable medium, and when we peruse the records of the christian teacher, who stands too near his object to see it distinctly.

For example, the author of a "New Voyage round the World" writes under a manifest bias, and with the purpose, it should seem, of affording merriment to his readers rather than sound instruction. The view exhibited by him of the character of Rihoriho is at once inconsistent and unjust. That the prince was occasionally addicted to strong drink is not concealed by the missionaries themselves, who enjoyed his protection, and who were proud of him as a convert; but that he wasted his time and his health in orgies, frequently emptying a bottle of rum at a draught, will not be readily believed by those who have marked his conduct in the national reformation he accomplished, or who could appreciate the motives which carried him to England. To supply us with a reason for such bold measures, we are simply informed that he wished to distinguish himself by some effort in favour of his people; that he was a freethinker in a bad sense; and that he hated the religion of his

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country because it laid some restraints upon his inclinations, and therefore he determined to overthrow it. This he did, we are assured, not for the purpose of introducing a better,—a task to which his feeble mind was unequal,—but to relieve himself and his subjects from ceremonies that he considered useless, and to throw aside those precepts of morality interwoven with them, for the sake of which his father had conscientiously observed the ancient usages.*

We are ready to admit that there is too much ground for the dark colouring applied by this author to the picture which he draws of the inhabitants, who have unquestionably lost much of the simplicity and innocence which formerly distinguished them. The profligate habits of the settlers from all nations, and of the numerous sailors with whom they constantly associate, have had a most prejudicial effect upon their morals. Many public houses are opened, where the means of intoxication can be procured; the keepers, in many cases, being runaway seamen, who, in order to increase their own profits, have

* A New Voyage round the World in the Years 1823, 1824, 1825, and 1826, by Otto Von Kotzebue, Post-captain in the Russian Imperial Navy (2 vols 8vo, Lond. 1830), vol. ii. p. 197. In Lord Byron's narrative it is mentioned, that during the residence of the Sandwich Islanders in London, "the decorum of their behaviour was admirable. Not one instance occurred of their overstepping the bounds of decency or civility in their intercourse with the different persons appointed to wait on them; not a suspicion that any one of the chiefs had offered the slightest insult to any woman; nor was there any of that gluttony and drunkenness with which those islanders, and especially the king, had been wantonly charged by some who ought to have known better. Perhaps the strongest proof of this is, that the charge at Osborne's, during their residence there, amounted to no greater an average than seventeen shillings a-head per day for their table. As they ate little or no butcher's meat, but lived chiefly on poultry, vegetables, and fruit, by no means the cheapest articles in London, their gluttony could not have been great. So far from their always preferring the strongest liquors, their favourite beverage was some cider, with which they had been presented by Mr Canning."

But that justice may not be withheld from the Russian commander, we must refer to Stewart's Journal (pp. 107, 108), where the frailties of the king occupy a conspicuous place.

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recourse to every means which may tempt the people to excess. Luxury, too, has made great advances. Even among the lowest class of the people, some article of European clothing is universal. The females especially set their hearts upon the most fashionable mode of dress; whatever the queen wears is their model, which they imitate to the utmost of their power. The domestic utensils formerly in use have entirely disappeared even from the poorest huts; and Chinese porcelain has superseded the manufactures from the gourd and the cocoanut. The love of foreign wares is, in many cases, a fertile source of crime; debt is incurred, fraud is practised, and positive violence is not altogether unknown between buyer and seller. In a society just emerged from barbarism, such disorders ought not to excite any surprise. All rude nations are addicted to theft, lavishing their highest praises upon the culprit if he escape detection, and blaming nothing in the act but the want of ingenuity. The chiefs of Owhyhee were formerly great adepts in this art; nor was it till they found such a mode of appropriation to be held disgraceful by Europeans, that they left the practice of it to their attendants, who accompanied them in their visits for the express purpose. One of the teachers laments, that in this manner they are constantly losing the most valuable articles. In two or three instances, clothes to a very considerable amount were taken from trunks, the locks of which were broken by the depredator while sitting upon them, and apparently taking a deep interest in conversation with some of the family. In these cases, however, the thief was dressed in a large cloak, which concealed his movements, and afforded a cover for the booty in his retreat.*

Captain Beechey, who visited Woahoo soon after the Russian ship had left the Sandwich group, bears testimony to the altered state of society, as well as to the temptations which now assail the half-confirmed principles of the natives. He remarks, that nothing more

* Stewart's Journal, p. 144.

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strikingly proves the superiority of the country of Tamehameha over the Society Islands than the number of wooden houses, the regularity of the town laid out in squares, intersected by streets properly fenced, and the many notices which appeared right and left on pieces of board, announcing "an Ordinary at one o'clock, Billiards, the Britannia, the Jolly Tar, the Good Woman," and similar designations. At the same period, there were in Woahoo several respectable merchants, in whose stores were to be found all the necessary articles of American and European manufacture, the productions of the China market, wines, and almost every other commodity required for luxury or comfort. There were also two hotels, at which a person might board comfortably for a dollar a-day, and two billiard-rooms, one of which belonged to the brother of the prime minister. The houses of the chiefs were furnished with tables and chairs, and those belonging to Kahumanu were decorated with sofas, having silk or velvet cushions. The same personage, who had filled several chests with the most costly tissues of China, is said to have expended four thousand dollars upon the purchase of a single cargo. One of the king's ministers paid three thousand dollars for a service of plate which he presented to his master, though he had other services in his possession, one of which, consisting of beautifully cut glass, was furnished by a distinguished manufacturer in London.

Nor was the change less striking which had taken place in the civil and political institutions of the country. The king was now regularly attended by a guard under arms; a sentinel presented his musket whenever an officer entered the threshold of the royal abode; and a body of troops regularly paraded on the ramparts, which already mounted forty guns. In the spring and autumn, the harbour was crowded with foreign vessels; as many as fifty being seen there at one time. Five thousand stand of arms were said to be distributed over the island; three hundred men were embodied and dressed in regimentals; and the national flag was daily

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displayed by five brigs and eight schooners. The government had already received consuls from Great Britain and America, with both of which powers the regency had concluded treaties of alliance. Much benefit is expected from the appointment of the official residents deputed by the authorities of their respective countries; greater effect being produced on the simple mind by example than by the most luminous precept, more especially in matters of religion and domestic morals.

On no occasion did the improved habits of the people appear to greater advantage than at the funeral of their sovereigns. Every thing native and ancient seemed to have passed away; the dead chiefs lay in state invested in more splendid cerements than their ancestors could ever have pictured to their imaginations; no bloody sacrifice stained their obsequies, no indecent ceremony roused a sentiment of shame or reproof in the hearts of the European visiters; but instead, there was hope held out of a resurrection to happiness, and the sublime doctrine was promulgated, which, while it announces an atonement for sin, promises the highest blessing to the purest spirit. Where only the naked savage was lately seen, the clothing of a cultivated people was now generally adopted; and mingled with them on this solemn occasion were the warlike and the noble of a great country, on the opposite side of the globe, teaching by their sympathy the charities which at once soften and dignify human nature. The furious yells of brutal orgies were now silenced; and when the solemn sounds were heard for the first time, committing the bodies to the earth, in the sure and certain belief of the Redeemer's second advent, it was impossible not to be struck with the deepest awe at a change which, when contrasted with the rapidity of its occurrence, appeared almost miraculous.*

On the 6th day of June 1825, a solemn assembly was held for the purpose of confirming the nomination of the young king, brother to Rihoriho; for though the crown was in some respects hereditary, the consent of the chiefs

* Byron's Sandwich Islands, p. 129.

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seemed indispensable to the accession of a minor. The question, whether the boy Kiaukiauli should be invested with the sovereignty, was carried by a unanimous and decisive affirmative. Immediately after this resolution, it was enacted by these representatives of the higher class, that the reversion of land to the monarch on the death of the occupant should not be longer continued, but, on the contrary, that the son should succeed to the father, except in cases where the public law had been violated by treason or the refusal of taxes. Boki, who had been in England with the late prince, stated that, after the lamented death of his master he had made application to King George for the benefit of the country, on the ground of the compact between Captain Vancouver and Tamehameha the First; and that his British majesty consented to watch over the islands, promising, that if ships of war came hither to do mischief, he would drive them away. He added, that above all, he exhorted them to abstain from fighting and from vice. He remarked, that whilst he was in London, he had been edified by the attachment of the people to their king, and had learned to regard his own young prince the more by their example. He then paid a high compliment to the English, on account of the kind treatment he and his companions had received, and ended by assuring the council, that "if the bowels of all the chiefs yearned as his did towards the young king, all things would proceed happily."

The opinion of Lord Byron being requested, he presented to Karaimoku, the regent, a paper containing a few hints respecting their affairs, which he wished them to look over at their leisure. If they approved, he begged they would adopt them as their own, not as the dictates of the British government, which, he assured them, had no wish whatever to interfere with the regulations of the chiefs, who, it was acknowledged, must be the best judges of what suited the people. A conversation then ensued on the subject of missionaries, and his lordship was asked whether King George had any objection to the settlement of the American teachers in the islands, and

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to their instructing the natives. The commander of the Blonde replied, he had heard that these persons had an intention of drawing up a code of statutes, and to this he decidedly objected; but so long as they did not meddle with the laws or commerce of the country, he could not object to their instructions in reading, and in the principles of the christian religion. One of the missionaries who was present (and whose constant presence in all scenes of business had probably suggested his lordship's remarks) disclaimed all intention of interfering in political or commercial concerns, being prohibited from engaging in such pursuits as well by their commission as by the private directions of their patrons.*

An allusion has just been made to the intrusive disposition of the missionaries, especially one of their number; and the complaint is not confined to a single navigator. Perhaps, as this field of christian philanthropy had been selected by the American preachers, their breasts may have been accessible to a slight emotion of jealousy in regard to the Russians and English; while, with respect to the enactment of laws, they might meditate nothing more than had been accomplished in the Society Isles, under the sanction of King Pomare. At all events, there is no doubt that Kotzebue, Byron, and Beechey, considered them more active than enough in matters not

* The paper which Lord Byron handed to Karaimoku, as containing his views concerning the business on which the council had met, contained the following articles:—

1. That the king be the head of the people.
2. That all the chiefs swear allegiance to the king.
3. That the lands which are now held by the chiefs shall not be taken from them, but shall descend to their legitimate children, except in cases of rebellion, and then all their property shall be forfeited to the king.
4. That a tax be regularly paid to the king, to keep up his dignity and establishment.
5. That no man's life be taken away except by consent of the king, or the regent for the time being, and of twelve chiefs.
6. That the king or regent can grant pardons at all times.
7. That all the people shall be free, and not bound to any one chief.
8. That a port-duty be laid on all foreign vessels.

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strictly comprehended in their professional undertaking, nor closely allied to their spiritual functions. "We believe," says one writer, "mistaken zeal to be the source of many of the errors we see; but we fear also, that in some the love of power has mingled with zeal, and that the government of the country, through the medium of the consciences of the chiefs, is a very great, if not the principal object, of at least one of the mission."*

The charge here insinuated has been met by a flat denial on the part of the individuals chiefly implicated in it; and we are satisfied that, when thoroughly examined, the unfavourable appearances will be found not to have exceeded the cares which an anxious teacher might display towards catechumens whose principles were not firmly established. The love of learning at first manifested among the natives was neither steady nor enduring. Soon after Christianity was introduced into the islands, several of the chiefs who had been taught to read and write were so delighted with their acquisitions in these arts, that they considered no degree of labour too great to extend and perpetuate them. But this flame soon exhausted itself by its very intensity; and education, in other respects, has made much slower progress than every friend to improvement could desire.†

It is admitted by the author, whose sentiments are conveyed in these remarks, that the missionaries were extremely anxious to diffuse a due knowledge of the tenets of the gospel, and laboured much to accomplish their praiseworthy purpose; but it is added, that those who have resided in the country know well the little effect their exertions have produced, probably on account of the tutors having mistaken the means of spreading education. "In the Sandwich Islands, as in all other places, there is a mania for every thing new, and, with due reverence to the subject, this was very much the case with

* Voyage to the Sandwich Islands, p. 145-147.

† Beechey's Voyage to the Pacific and Behring's Straits, vol. ii. p. 100.

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religion in Honoruru, where almost every person might be seen hastening to the school with a slate in his hand, in the hope of being able soon to transcribe some part of the Scriptures. This feeling, under judicious management, might have produced the greatest blessings Woahoo could have enjoyed; and the gentlemen of the mission might have congratulated themselves on having bestowed upon the inhabitants the most important benefits. But they were misled by the eagerness of their hopes, and their zeal carried them beyond the limits calculated to prove beneficial to the temporal interests of a people still in the earliest stage of civilisation."*

The apparent thirst after spiritual knowledge at Honoruru created a belief among the missionaries that this feeling was universal, and auxiliary schools were established in different parts of the island, at which, it was said, every adult was required to attend several times a-day. When this demand upon their time was confined within reasonable limits, the chiefs, generally, were glad to find their subjects listen to instruction; but, when men were obliged to quit their work, and repair to the nearest school so frequently during the day, so much mischief was produced by loss of labour, that many of them became desirous of checking it. A powerful party, at the head of which were the king and the regent, exerted themselves to counteract the tendency of the new system. The Ten Commandments had been recommended as the sole law of the land, a proposition which was at first resolutely opposed by the government. A meeting was called by the missionaries to justify their conduct, at which they lost ground by a proposal that the younger part of the community only should be obliged to attend the schools, and that the men should be permitted to continue at their daily labour. The king, whose riding, bathing, and other exercises had been restricted, now threw off all restraint, and appeared in public wearing the sword and feather belonging to the

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* Beechey, vol. ii. p. 102.

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uniform presented to him from this country by Lord Byron, which his preceptor had forbidden him to use, under the impression that it might excite his vanity. The boys, following the example of their youthful sovereign, resumed their games, which had also been suppressed; and the streets, occupied by happy children, wore a more cheerful aspect.*

But, though the teachers may have been unseasonably urgent, or even indiscreet, let it not be forgotten that the good they have effected, and the positive benefits they have conferred upon the natives, would compensate for more errors, if such they be, than have been any where laid to their charge. It is not indeed denied,

* Voyage to the Pacific, vol. ii. p. 103. The candour of Captain Beechey cannot be called in question, and we are satisfied that he relates exactly what he saw and heard, though the missionaries accuse him of yielding to a bias at once unfavourable to their interests and not quite consistent with facts. Mr Stewart, in his "Visit to the South Seas," gives a somewhat different account of the assembly convened for enacting laws: the design of which, we are told, was to publish the Ten Commandments, without any penal obligations, preparatory to the promulgation of specific statutes founded upon them. "Some of the missionaries had been invited by the regents, Karaimoku and Kahumanu, to be present; on information of which reaching the European residents, a party of leading individuals from their number violently and riotously interrupted the council, with such menaces and threats against the members of the mission, even to the taking of life, that the chiefs were utterly intimidated, and for the time relinquished their purpose." We could have wished to see, on the part of Mr Stewart, a little more generosity than to allege that the residents, who have much at stake, "wished the whole nation to remain lawless in points not affecting the interests of their own property or persons."—P. 325.

We can discover, through the medium of events, that the missionaries owed no small portion of their influence to the good offices of Kahumanu, who had succeeded in dividing with Boki the power of the regency. This lady, who appeared to be a sincere convert, reflected on the christian teachers the rays of her favour, perceiving that their exertions were directed towards the support of the government which she administered in the name of her late husband's grandchild. Boki, who desired not her co-operation, was less esteemed among the ministers of religion; hence the origin of the jarring which disturbed the early years of this reign.

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even by those who view their proceedings through the least favourable medium, that the cause of christian benevolence has gained a great triumph in the abolition of infanticide, human sacrifices, and more especially by the removal of that gross licentiousness which sometimes accompanied even the acts of worship. Much, no doubt, remains to be done before true religion shall completely supersede, by its refined morality, those vicious habits which were produced and encouraged by the ancient superstition: and yet in no part of the South Sea has the power of truth and civilisation been more strikingly manifested than in the larger islands of the Sandwich group. For a proof of this, the reader is referred to the works of Mr Stewart, who visited that portion of Polynesia at two different periods. In the days of Rihoriho, who occasionally sunk into the savage, he relates, that he "found the king and the people about him in a state of great intoxication. None of our party, chiefs or people, were to be seen! At eleven o'clock, we repeated our visit, but all was riot and debauchery, and not meeting with any of our pupils, we quickly turned from so melancholy a scene of licentiousness and intoxication. At sunset we went again to the beach. The wild and heathenish sounds of the song and the dance were distinctly to be heard, long before we reached the place of our customary worship; and the tent of the king was still the centre of revelry. Never can we forget the appearance of Keopuolani. The countenance and manner of no christian mother could have manifested more real anguish of spirit in witnessing the dissipation of a beloved son. As we approached, her eyes filled with tears, and with a voice almost inarticulate from emotions ready to overpower her, she lifted her hand, and pointing to the scene of intemperance, exclaimed, 'O shameful! O shameful!' and throwing herself back with a convulsive sob, hid at once her face and her tears."*

The better sentiments inspired by the gospel did not

* Private Journal of the Rev. C. S. Stewart, p. 109.

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much longer tolerate such disgraceful orgies. In the year 1827, his majesty and chiefs, in a general council, passed certain penal statutes against the crimes of murder, adultery, theft, gambling, drunkenness, and profanation of the Sabbath. Civilisation, too, appears to have kept pace with morality and the advancement of true godliness; a fact which is proved by the state of the population in Woahoo in the year 1829, compared with the manners and comforts of the several classes in 1825, when visited by the commanders of the Blonde and Blossom. In the royal residence especially, which even in the time of Lord Byron was thought elegant and respectable, the difference is described to be almost equal to the improvements which would have taken place in a century in other countries, and greater than that which now exists between the new and the old rooms in Windsor Castle. The floors are covered with beautiful carpets suited to the climate; the large windows at either side of the room, and the folding-doors of glass at each end, are hung with draperies of crimson damask; the furniture consists of handsome pier-tables and large mirrors; and of a line of glass chandeliers suspended along the centre of the ceiling, with lustres and candelabra of bronze affixed to the pillars which line the sides of the apartment. The portraits of the late king and queen, painted in London, are placed at the upper end, in carved frames richly gilt.

In the same space of time, Tamehameha the Third had grown up into a fine stout young man of sixteen, as graceful, well-bred, and perfectly gentleman-like in his whole deportment as any lad of his age in the most polished circles of Europe. "It was gratifying to mark the dignity and propriety of his demeanour; and still more so to learn that his private character was as unexceptionable as his public appearance is manly, and becoming the station he occupies."

Nor was the great improvement here indicated confined to the court; it had extended more or less to all ranks of society. Upon visiting one of the ladies who had

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been converted to the gospel, Mr Stewart remarks, that had he entered the rooms by accident, not knowing to whom they belonged, he would not have thought that he was in the residence of a native, but, from the finish of every part and the elegant furniture, in that of some foreign gentleman. "The sitting-room is delightful; the floor was beautifully carpeted with mats; while in the centre stood a rich couch of yellow damask, with armed chairs placed on either side. A native lounge or divan occupied the whole length of the apartment. A pier-table, covered with a rich cloth, a large mirror, and a portrait completed the furniture on the one hand. On the other, a curtain of handsome chintz, looped up a foot or two at the bottom, partially disclosed the boudoir of Madam Kekuanoa, a principal article of its furniture being an elegant writing-table, with papers and books in the language of the country. From this she appeared to have risen, as we entered the farther door. Her dress, manner, and whole deportment in receiving us, were those of a lady. A neatly bound copy of the Gospel of Luke in the Hawaiian version, the first I had seen, was found lying on the sofa, with a blank book in which she had been writing."

This missionary, now chaplain of a ship of war, accompanied his friends on other visits, where every thing was found equally pleasing and interesting. "I know not, says he, "when I have myself been more highly delighted, or more affectingly impressed with the changes which have taken place here, and are still rapidly going on. In a single circle now before me, I beheld five of the highest chiefs in the island—those whom I had myself known as naked, debauched heathen, not only addicted to vice, but glorying in their shame—respectably dressed; demeaning themselves with all the propriety and courteousness of civilized society; modest and decorous in all their actions; pure and intelligent in their conversation; and surrounded in the furniture and accommodations of their dwellings, not merely by the comforts, but also by many of the elegances of an ad-

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vanced stage of improvement; and this, most evidently, not for the exhibition of an hour, but in proof of their present ordinary mode of life. In view of the magnitude and extent of the change, I could not but inwardly exclaim, especially as I looked on Kahumanu, who for fifty-three years lived, and became hardened in all the grossness of paganism, a debauchee in private character, a terrific despot in her public rule—surely, 'the eyes of these have been opened, and they turned from darkness unto light, and from the power of Satan unto God.' Scarcely any thing in the contrast, passing in my mind, struck me more forcibly than that connected with the appearance of the children. In place of being utterly unclothed, as would have been the case ten or even five years ago, left entirely to the management of a rude train of attendants, and screaming with terror at the approach or look of any civilized being, we beheld them neatly and elegantly clad, differing from children at home only in their colour, and receiving not only the fondness of their parents and relatives, but courting, by the cleanliness of their persons and every appearance, the caresses of the captain and myself."*

* A Visit to the South Seas, during the Years 1829 and 1830. By C. S. Stewart, M. A. Edited by William Ellis. Lond. 1832. The captain here alluded to was the commander of the Vincennes frigate, who in a "Retrospective View of the Sandwich Islands," remarks "the very advanced stage of the people in the points involving civilisation, religion, and learning, is so well established, so generally known and admitted, that I forbear to give statements of them equally minute with those I made respecting Noukahiva, Tahiti, and Raratea. Their civilities, letters of correspondence, and transactions of business with me, place them in a just light, and will enable our government to appreciate and judge them properly without my saying a word in their favour beyond the simple declaration that they are much in advance of the Society Islanders, cheeringly and agreeably enlightened, acquainted limitedly with their own interests, capable of extending them, and sensible of the value of character as a nation. Their indolence of habit, and amiability of disposition, mislead the judgment of persons who deny their pretensions to intelligence and capacity for self-management or government.—It is a most lamentable fact, that the dislike of the missionaries by the foreign residents has a

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It is remarked by one of the American officers, that the king, as he advances in years, will in all probability prove a blessing to his people. This eulogy, it may be presumed, was occasioned by a scene which had recently taken place, the opening of a large meeting-house, built by order of government, and solemnly dedicated to God. According to the report of one of the missionaries, not fewer than four thousand individuals were present, including most of the great personages of the nation. His majesty and the princess also attended. An elegant sofa, covered with satin damask, of a deep crimson colour, had been placed for them in front of the pulpit: the king, in his rich Windsor uniform, sat at one end, and his sister, in a superb dress, at the other. Before the religious services commenced, the young monarch arose from his seat, and, stepping to a platform in front of the pulpit, called the attention of the congregation. Addressing himself to the chiefs, teachers, and people generally, he said that the house which he had built, he now publicly gave to God, the Maker of heaven and earth, to be appropriated to his worship; and declared his wish that his subjects should venerate Jehovah, obey his laws, and learn his word. When the service was

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tendency as yet to paralyse the efforts which the natives are so laudably making to render themselves worthy of the support and confidence of enlightened Christians and distant nations. The constant complaining against the missionaries is irksome in the extreme, and in such contrast with the conduct of the missionaries themselves, that I could not but remark their circumspection and reserve with admiration. The latter never obtruded upon my attention the grounds or causes they might have to complain; nor did they advert to the opposition they had experienced, unless expressly invited thereto by me."

"So great was the friendship and correctness of deportment among the chief islanders that I could scarcely suppose myself to be among a people once, and so recently, heathen. Variance of language and complexion alone reminded me of it. These views may very widely vary from the opinions of those who have preceded me only a year or two; I can well believe that we do not, by means of our intercourse, keep pace with their improvements. Intervals of three years make wonderful changes, and for the better: careful and recorded observations only will assure us of the reality of them."—*Stewart's Visit*, p. 395.

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over, the king once more rose and said, "let us pray." In this act of devotion, he used the plural number, and gave the house again to God, acknowledged him as his sovereign, yielded his kingdom to him, confessed his own sinfulness, and prayed to be preserved from temptation and delivered from evil. He interceded also for the different classes of his subjects; for the chiefs, teachers, learners, and common people, for the missionaries and foreign residents; and concluded, in a very appropriate manner, by ascribing unto God the kingdom, the power, and the glory for ever.*

Since the period indicated by these details, civilisation has continued to advance, accompanied to a certain extent by an improved knowledge of christian truth. The intercourse with foreigners has made the natives acquainted with luxuries, and thereby created a desire for an extension of trade, which, in the course of time, will necessarily lead to industrious habits. Religion, too, will, at no distant period, become the rule of life and sanction of public law, instead of being, as was perhaps necessary at the commencement, the sole occupation of the converts. From the various missionary records we learn that christian principle, which was originally established by authority rather than on conviction, has not, in all the islands, maintained a uniform or unremitting course. In a communication, dated 1838, from an enlightened teacher to the American Board, some account is given of a "religious awakening" in Mowee, Owhyhee, and Woahoo. In the course of the previous year a spirit of inquiry and increased attention was manifest; meetings began to be very full and solemn; but the impressions, so far as he could judge, were not so deep and positive as he wished to see. There was more wakeful attention than real concern for the soul. Things continued in much the same state, with perhaps a little increase of feeling, till about the 1st of December, when prospects began to brighten. New-

* Scottish Missionary Register, vol. xi. p. 474.

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year's day seemed to mark the decisive feature of the crisis. Prayer now began to be offered with much fervency, and often with strong crying and tears; and from this time the character of the work was no longer doubtful. "By the 1st of April the whole population round us was under deep excitement; many, perhaps the majority, were not actuated by any real concern for their souls, but were moved because others were; and it is feared they will relapse again into their former state of stupidity. Time only can tell how many have been raised to newness of life. Meetings are well attended; but that deep solemnity and wakeful interest which a few months ago rested on the assemblies, has, to a great degree, passed away."*

The preacher, whose candour and good sense appear to great advantage, states some reasons for ministerial vigilance during such seasons of awakening. 1. The natives are very excitable on any subject; and in the present state of society, especially so on the subject of religion. 2. In a number of instances the fairest appearances are found connected with the indulgence of secret iniquity. This is not uncommon among the natives. 3. The history of excitements in these islands is calculated to produce caution. If they are real converts, they will not be likely to fall away by being looked at a few months, especially if they enjoy constant instruction.

To the actual condition of things we shall afterwards refer in general terms, regretting that our limits are inconsistent with minute details, for which we direct the attention of the reader to the original authorities. Meantime we may remark, that the Sandwich Islands are not the only scene of those occasional excitements called "revivals," which, while they shake the faith of the unlearned, threaten to undermine the principles of morals, order, decency, and decorum. Even in those countries where the fundamental tenets of christian belief have been long established, and the usages of divine

* Missionary Register, vol. xxi. p. 75.

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worship have ingrafted themselves on the habits of the people at large, it is not uncommon to witness a considerable ebb and flow in the popular mind in regard as well to doctrine as to ceremonies. Such persons as have carefully marked the events of the last twenty years in Great Britain and America, will have no difficulty in recollecting movements in the religious world not less remarkable than those of Owhyhee and Woahoo. In all ages, the theological thermometer has indicated such variations in the temperature of the great mass of society; but it is pleasant to add that the result, in most cases, has had a beneficial tendency. The "lump" cannot be fully leavened without a considerable degree of fermentation; a process, however, which, if not watched with a vigilant eye, is very apt to exceed the proper limits, and to terminate in a repulsive acidity. Still there is no reason to dread the issue of that working of hope and fear which has recently manifested itself in the hearts of the rude islanders, provided the teachers pursue a steady course, and direct the attention of their converts to that faith which is necessarily followed by virtue, knowledge, temperance, patience, godliness, brotherly-kindness, and charity.

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CHAPTER X.

New Zealand.

New Zealand discovered by Tasman—Description of its Inhabitants—Cook examines the Coast—Makes a Passage through the Straits which bear his Name—Ungenerous Conduct of Surville—Expedition and Death of M. Marion—Loss sustained by Captain Furneaux—Intercourse between New Zealand and Australia—Tippahee—Moyhanger visits England—Murder of the Crew of the Boyd—Missionaries land at Rangihoua—Two Chiefs appear in London—Are introduced to the Prince Regent—Missionaries increase their Stations—Favour manifested by the Chiefs—Measures proposed for forming a regular Church in New Zealand—Number of Stations—Desire of Improvement among Natives—Original State of European Population—Associations formed for Colonization—New Zealand Company's Establishment at Port Nicholson—Great Immigration—Obstacles opposed by Government—Sovereignty of the Queen proclaimed—Charter granted to the Company—New Settlement called Nelson—Town of Auckland—Reflections on the actual State of the Colony and its Prospects.

The group which passes under the name of New Zealand was discovered by Abel Jansen Tasman, in September 1642. At that period, Anthony Van Diemen was governor of the Dutch possessions in the East Indies, who, being desirous to add to the knowledge of maritime geography, more especially towards the unexplored regions of the South Pole, despatched this celebrated captain in charge of two small vessels, with instructions to ascertain the boundaries of the continent which was supposed to occupy all the antarctic parallels of the Pacific

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Ocean. The first reward of Tasman's exertions was the discovery of an island, which he named, in honour of his patron, Van Diemen's Land.

After examining the coasts with some attention, he proceeded towards the east, and when in latitude 38° 10′ S., and longitude 167° 21′ E., he again saw land about a degree to the south-south-east. It was not, however, till he had attained the northern extremity of it that any inhabitants appeared, who, sounding a trumpet, probably composed of a shell, attracted his attention to an address which, being uttered in a strange dialect, he could not understand. He describes them as being of common stature and strong boned, their colour between brown and yellow, and their hair black, which they wore tied up on the crown of the head, like the Japanese, each having a large white feather stuck upright in it. Their vessels were double canoes fastened together by cross planks, on which they sat. It is remarked, that their language bore no resemblance to that used in the Solomon Islands, with a vocabulary of which Tasman had been furnished at Batavia. Notwithstanding his earnest desire to secure their good opinion, he could not prevent an attack upon a boat's crew, which occasioned to him the loss of several lives.

Having no hope of being able to establish a friendly intercourse, he left the "Bay of Murderers," and proceeded towards the north; and finding the coast still stretching to a great extent in an eastern direction, he imagined that he had at length discovered the great southern continent,—the Terra Incognita Australis,—which he at first called Staten Land, and afterwards New Zealand. Of this important country no farther account was taken till the year 1769, when, in the month of October, it was seen by Captain Cook, while engaged in his first circumnavigation of the globe. There is reason to believe, however, from certain communications made by the natives to this distinguished seaman, that some European ship had touched on the coast a short time before his arrival; and as this visit was never reported in Eng-

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land, there is but too much reason to apprehend that the crew were massacred by the barbarous inhabitants.*

As Cook approached New Zealand from the east, he landed on the side opposite to that which had been surveyed by Tasman. At first he had to encounter the usual difficulties; nor was it until the fierce people had failed in an attack upon him and his two friends, Solander and Banks, and had experienced the fatal effects of fire-arms, that he succeeded in establishing a temporary intercourse with them. While employed in search of fresh water, in the interior of the bay, he met one of their fishing canoes returning from the sea, having on board four men and three boys. As soon as they perceived the English boats, they plied their paddles with so much activity, that they would have effected their escape, had not the captain ordered a musket to be fired over their heads, in the hope that this display of power would induce them to surrender. But in this expectation he was unfortunately disappointed; for although, on the discharge of the piece, they laid aside their paddles and began to strip, it was only that they might be prepared to meet their assailants and give them battle. Accordingly, as soon as they reached their enemies, they commenced the attack with their simple weapons; and so obstinate was the resistance made by them, that the encounter did not terminate until the four men were killed. On witnessing this catastrophe, the boys leaped into the water, whence, after considerable opposition, they were taken up and placed in the boat. At first they seemed to have no expectation but of instant death at the hands of their captors. Upon being kindly treated, however, and furnished with clothes, they soon laid aside their apprehensions, and even seemed to forget the fate of their countrymen who perished in the conflict. When

* In Cruise's Journal, p. 86, it is mentioned that he was told by one of the natives, an old man, of a ship that had been lost on the west coast, at a comparatively recent period. A boat's crew having gone on shore to trade for provisions, were, he said, cut off by the savages. See also The New Zealanders (12mo, Lond. 1830), p. 27.

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dinner was set before them on board the Endeavour, they ate voraciously; and being encouraged by Tupia, a native of Otaheite, they even consented to entertain their captors with a song. Indeed, they would willingly have continued with their new friends, being afraid that, if put ashore by the English, their enemies "would kill and eat them." But the commander, resolved to afford no ground for the suspicion that he meant to kidnap the inhabitants, gave strict orders that the youths should be landed on the nearest point of the coast. He afterwards learned that no injury befell them, though committed to the keeping of a hostile tribe.

No one could regret more than Cook the melancholy result of the fortuitous meeting with the canoe, as just described. "I am conscious," says he, "that the feeling of every reader of humanity will censure me for having fired upon these unhappy people; and it is impossible that, upon a calm review, I should approve it myself. They certainly did not deserve death for not choosing to confide in my promises, or not consenting to come on board my boat, even if they had apprehended no danger; but the nature of my service required me to obtain a knowledge of their country, which I could not otherwise effect than by forcing my way into it in a hostile manner, or gaining admission through the confidence and good-will of the people. I had already tried the power of presents without effect; and I was now prompted, by my desire to avoid farther hostilities, to get some of them on board, as the only method of convincing them that we intended them no harm, and had it in our power to contribute to their gratification and convenience. Thus far my intentions certainly were not criminal; and though in the contest, which I had not the least reason to expect, our victory might have been complete without so great an expense of life, yet in such situations, when the command to fire has been given, no man can restrain its excess, or prescribe its effect."*

* Hawkesworth's Account of the Voyages of Byron, Wallis, Carteret, and Cook, vol. ii. p. 290. A motive of humanity in-

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Cook did not discontinue his researches until he had ascertained that the country is divided into two principal islands by the strait which still bears his name. The northern one is called by the natives Eaheinamauwee, the southern, Tavai Poenamoo ; contiguous to which last there is a smaller body of land which has not yet risen into any consequence. The whole are situated between lat. 34° and 47° S., and long. 166° and 180° E. The appearance of the coast is bold and rocky ; in some parts the general aspect of the land is rather rugged ; and several of the mountains in Poenamoo are covered with perennial snow. In the other island, where the Europeans have established their principal settlements, the soil is in many parts extremely fertile, and capable of a very high degree of cultivation ; suited, it is supposed, not only to the growth of wheat and other grain, but also to the more delicate fruits and varied productions of the most genial portions of the temperate zones. The potato has been cultivated with great facility and advantage. Though but lately introduced by foreigners, it furnishes a valuable addition to the means of subsistence enjoyed by the natives, and also an article of sea-store to the numerous ships by which New Zealand is annually visited. Cattle, sheep, and poultry are also reared in abundance, proving at once a source of wealth to the poorer settlers, and an agreeable variety to the tables of the more wealthy. Moreover, the coasts are well stocked with several species of fish, which European skill has taught the inhabitants both to catch more plentifully and to cure with greater success. The climate is

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duced Captain Cook to leave that part of the coast. "As soon as we were drawn up on the other side, the Indians came down, not in a body as we expected, but by two or three at a time, all armed, and in a short time their number increased to about two hundred. As we now despaired of making peace with them, seeing that the dread of our small arms did not keep them at a distance, and that the ship was too far off to reach the place with a shot, we resolved to re-embark, lest our stay should embroil us in another quarrel, and cost more of the Indians their lives."—P. 293.

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described as being both pleasant and salubrious. In Eaheinamauwee, the thermometer ranges from 40° to 80°; being a pleasant medium between the heat of the tropical regions and the sudden colds which affect the more variable sky of the temperate latitudes.*

While Cook was on the coast of New Zealand, a French ship, commanded by M. de Surville, was struggling with the high seas and boisterous weather which the English navigator has recorded in his usual graphic language. His reception by the natives formed quite a contrast to the spirit which they displayed towards the English. The chiefs bestowed upon the invalids of his crew the greatest attention. Naginoui, the lord of an adjoining village, surrendered his house for their accommodation, supplied them with the best food he could provide, and would not accept the smallest compensation. But this humane conduct was most cruelly requited. Surville having missed one of his small boats, probably lost during the storm, and suspecting that the inhabitants had stolen it, determined to be avenged for this supposed injury. Accordingly, seeing one of the chiefs walking on the shore, he invited him with many professions of friendship to come on board his ship; the other no sooner complied than he found himself a prisoner. Not satisfied with this outrageous treachery, he next gave orders that a village to which he pointed should be set on fire, and it was accordingly burnt to the ground. To aggravate the crime against personal freedom and property, this was found to be the very village in which his sick men had, a few days before, been so kindly received, and the leader whom he had inveigled on board the Saint Jean Baptiste was the generous Naginoui, who had acted towards them the part of the good Samaritan. The unfortunate captive was carried away from his own country by the stranger whom he had assisted, but he

* In an "Account of the Settlements of the New Zealand Company," by the Hon. H. W. Petre (Lond. 1841), the islands are named, beginning at the north, New Ulster, New Munster, and New Leinster.

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did not long survive the separation from his family and the land of his birth; he died of a broken heart, about three months afterwards, near Juan Fernandez, on the passage to Peru. The termination of Surville's own career, which took place a few days later, may be regarded in a retributory light. After a vain cruise of nearly a twelvemonth in search of an imaginary island full of gold and precious stones, he found himself compelled, though his ship was victualled for three years, owing to the ill health of his crew, to return towards the coast of South America. On the 5th April 1770, he arrived at Callao; and, being anxious to obtain an early interview with the viceroy, he put off from his vessel in a small boat and perished in the surf.*

The reports that had reached Europe respecting the soil and climate of New Zealand increased the interest taken by the court of France in a country which seemed to hold forth numerous advantages to enterprising settlers. With this view, in October 1771, they despatched two ships, under the command of M. Marion, who received instructions, after attending to some less important objects, to make himself intimately acquainted with the resources of the two islands recently visited by the English navigator. Arriving at Cape Brett on the 3d May the following year, he forthwith established an amicable intercourse with the natives, who readily went on board his vessel, and accepted his civilities in a very good spirit. Encouraged by these symptoms of a friendly disposition towards his people, he landed the sick sailors on one of the numerous islands with which the adjoining bay is studded. Abundance of food was now brought to them by the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages, who, in this respect, were indefatigable in their endeavours to gratify the strangers; while their communication with each other was rendered at once more easy and agreeable

* Regarding this transaction more ample details will be found in Rochon's Voyages aux Indes Orientales, tome iii. p. 388, extracted from the Journal of P. de l'Orme. In this work, the name of the chief is spelled Naginouni.—New Zealanders, p. 39.

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by the discovery that the language spoken in this part of Polynesia was essentially the same with the dialect of Otaheite. So intimate, indeed, did they become, and such was the state of mutual confidence in which they lived, that while the New Zealanders went at all times freely on board the ships, and occasionally remained all night, the Frenchmen, on their part, were wont to move about on shore with the greatest freedom, and even to make excursions into the interior, entering the houses of the people, and sharing their meals. Crozet, the first lieutenant, from whose notes the account of the voyage was compiled, remarks, that he himself was almost the only one of the officers who did not quite forget all precaution.

A dreadful crisis was now at hand, the motives that led to which it is impossible to comprehend. On the 12th June, Marion went on shore with a party of sixteen men, including four officers, who, being attacked by the treacherous cannibals, were literally murdered and eaten. Next morning, a boat's crew landed for the purpose of procuring wood and water, and being still free from suspicion, they also allowed themselves to be surrounded by a multitude of the savages, who put to death eleven of the twelve individuals of whom the party consisted. The survivor saw the dead bodies of his companions cut up and divided among the assassins, each of whom carried away the portion he had received. But with the thoughtlessness characteristic of barbarians, they used no means to avert the tremendous retribution to which they had exposed themselves. A powerful body of French were landed from the two ships, who, after ascertaining the horrible fate of their commander, and even collecting some remains of his mangled corpse, seized an opportunity presented by the murderers themselves of inflicting a severe punishment. Repeated volleys of musketry were directed against the miserable rabble, who, stupified with terror, allowed themselves to be slaughtered without any attempt either at resistance or retreat. No light has ever been thrown on the cir-

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cumstances which led to this shocking catastrophe. Crozet repeats the assurance that his countrymen gave not the islanders any cause of offence whatever during their residence among them, and that down to the fatal day when Marion was put to death, the two parties had lived together in the greatest cordiality, occupied in the reciprocation of kindnesses. If the assault on the foreigners was premeditated on the part of the natives, these last are justly chargeable with a degree of deceit not usually incident to such rude minds; but if we suppose that intelligence relative to the conduct of Surville had reached their shores, their atrocity may be explained, though not in any degree palliated.*

A similar event took place in the year 1773, when Captain Furneaux, who commanded the Adventure on Cook's second voyage, lay in Ship Cove, waiting the return of the Resolution. In the month of December he sent a boat to the land, under the care of a midshipman, with instructions to gather a few wild greens, and to return in the evening. The crew, which consisted of ten men, were killed and eaten, as on the former occasion. It was not till 1777, when engaged in his last voyage round the world, that the commodore obtained any explanation of this atrocious crime. Having desired Omai to ask the chief, Kahoora, why he had killed Furneaux's people, the savage folded his arms, hung down his head, and appeared to expect instant death. But no sooner did Cook assure him of his safety than he became cheerful. "He did not, however, seem willing to give me an answer to the question that had been put to him, till I had again and again repeated my promise that he should not be hurt. Then he ventured to tell us, 'that one of his countrymen having brought a stone hatchet to barter, the man to whom it was offered took

* Crozet, whose narrative is embodied in the volumes of the Abbé Rochon, remarks, that "they treated us with every show of kindness for thirty-three days, in the intention of eating us the thirty-fourth."—Voyage de Marion, p. 121, quoted in The New Zealanders, p. 53.

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it, and would neither return it nor give any thing for it; on which the owner of it snatched up the bread as an equivalent, and then the quarrel began."*

About the end of last century, some intercourse bega to take place between New Zealand and the penal colony established in Australia. Two natives of the former were induced to visit Norfolk Island, where they were kindly treated, and afterwards accompanied home by Governor King, who was exceedingly desirous to become acquainted with their method of cultivating and dressing flax, the most valuable produce of their country. About the same period, ships engaged in whale-fishing in those distant seas found it convenient to land on the coast, and hence an intimacy was gradually formed with the natives, who, though suspicious of the views which led to it, were by no means disposed to resist the approaches of a civilized people. Availing themselves of this opportunity, the authorities at Port Jackson occasionally sent presents of cattle, sheep, pigs, and seeds, with such other things as seemed fitted to add to their comforts, as well as to create among them a taste for the conveniences of cultivated life. At length, a chief named Tippahee, whose dwelling was near the Bay of Islands, expressed a desire to see the English colony. He was accordingly conveyed to Port Jackson, accompanied by five sons; and, during his stay there, he examined with the utmost attention every thing that fell under his observation, manifesting the greatest anxiety to acquire a full knowledge of the various arts and manufactures which he saw carried on by the settlers. He was so much affected by the contrast between their knowledge and the ignorance of his own countrymen that he burst into tears.

It is not unworthy of notice that, on all occasions, the

* A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, performed under the direction of Captains Cook, Clerke, and Gore, in the Years 1776-1780, vol. i. p. 133. Cook adds, that "the remainder of Kahoora's account of this unhappy affair differed very little from what we had before learned from the rest of his countrymen."

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New Zealanders preferred things useful to those which were merely showy or decorative. The first of them who landed in England, whose name was Moyhanger, regarded with much more interest the iron goods and comfortable clothing which he saw in the shops of London, than the brilliant equipages and splendid attire that afterwards met his eyes. It was not without a feeling of dejection that he first beheld the magnitude, bustle, and wealth of the metropolis; remarking, that in his own land he was a man of some consequence, but that in this country his consequence must be entirely lost. While in town he was taken to visit Lord Fitzwilliam. The ornamental parts of the furniture did not make such an impression upon him as was expected. Of the mirrors and other showy works of art, he merely remarked, that they were "very fine;" and while it was thought he was admiring the more striking objects, it was discovered that he was counting the chairs. Having procured a small piece of stick, he had broken it into a number of fragments to assist his recollection; and upon completing the process of enumeration, he said, "a great number of men sit with the chief." It was a mystery to him at first how such an immense population could be fed, as he perceived neither cattle nor crops; but the droves of oxen and wagon-loads of vegetables he afterwards saw coming in from the country satisfied him upon this head.*

The favourable opinion which began to be entertained in regard to the people of New Zealand received a material check in the year 1809, when an atrocious murder was perpetrated on the crew of the Boyd, a ship of five hundred tons burden, which, with seventy persons on board, called at the Bay of Wangaroa, to land some natives who had been resident in Australia. Among these last was an individual named Tarra, though he bore among the sailors the more familiar appellation of George, who, having been punished for neglect of duty,

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* Savage's Account of New Zealand, p. 94-110.

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resolved to have his revenge when the vessel should come to anchor in the neighbourhood of his tribe. He first attacked the captain and a party of men in the woods, whither they had gone to cut timber, and with the aid of his associates murdered them all. Elated with their success, the infuriated savages next proceeded to the Boyd. It was now dusk, and as they went alongside in the boats belonging to the ship, dressed in the clothes of the seamen whom they had slain, they were hailed by the second officer, who, in reply, was informed by them that the captain, intending to remain on shore all night, had ordered them to take on board the spars which were already cut down. Under this pretext, they were allowed to go on deck, when they instantly commenced an indiscriminate slaughter of men, women, and children, leaving none alive except one female, two children, and the cabin-boy.*

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* See "Particulars of the Destruction of a British Vessel on the Coast of New Zealand."—Constable's Miscellany, vol. iv. p. 323. The author of these "Particulars," Captain Berry of the ship City of Edinburgh, says, "we found the wreck of the Boyd in shoal water at the top of the harbour, a most melancholy picture of wanton mischief. The natives had cut her cables, and towed her up the harbour till she had grounded, and then set her on fire and burnt her to the water's edge." Mr Berry's statement differs from that more commonly given as to the proximate cause of the massacre. Tippahee, he observes, who happened to be at Wangaroa, went into the cabin, and after paying his respects to the captain, begged a little bread for his men; but the other received him very slightingly, and desired him to go away, and not trouble him at present, as he was busy. The proud old savage, who had been a constant guest at the governor's table at Port Jackson, being highly offended at this treatment, immediately left the cabin, and after stamping a few minutes on the deck, went into his canoe. But as soon as the captain left the ship, Tippahee, who remained alongside in his canoe, came again on board, soon after which the massacre began. In short, Mr Berry ascribes the catastrophe to the resentment of this chief; whereas other authors trace it, with greater probability, to the vindictive feelings of George, the native sailor. His narrative, however, is extremely interesting.

The account given in the Library of Entertaining Knowledge (New Zealanders) corresponds, we are assured, with that which first appeared in the Sydney Gazette of 1st September 1810,

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The fearful atrocity now described had the effect of reviving the impression, already beginning to subside among navigators, as to the ferocious character of the natives. Vessels, no doubt, continued occasionally to visit the islands, and to engage in the wonted traffic, but confidence had in a great measure ceased, and the hope that they would soon ascend to a respectable place among civilized nations, was not any where cherished with the same ardour. Even the means which had been devised by certain benevolent individuals to accomplish that good end were for a time suspended. The Church Missionary Society, moved by the representations made to them by Mr Marsden, senior chaplain of Australia, had resolved to send some christian labourers into those islands, to infuse into the minds of the inhabitants the elements of true religion, to wean them from their sanguinary habits, and to teach them the arts of social life, more especially agriculture with its kindred pursuits. The committee in London sent out three individuals, whom they placed under the direction of Mr Marsden; assigning, at the same time, the annual sum of five hundred pounds, to supply them with the means of establishing a mission. But the alarm occasioned by the horrible massacre at Wangaroa deterred them from proceeding farther than Port Jackson; nor was it till the latter end of the year 1814 that they reached the scene of their important enterprise, in the northern island of New Zealand.

It was at Rangihoua, a native village near the Bay of Islands, that they planted their first station; and notwithstanding a very powerful opposition, as well from false friends as from open enemies, the gospel has never since been entirely driven away from that place. Privations of every kind were to be endured, want of food, want of clothing, and want of society; added to which were the menaces of the barbarians whom they were

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and which has been reprinted in the Journal of Captain Cruise. It was derived originally from the report of a native of Otaheite, who was on the spot at the time.

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endeavouring to instruct, which, on some occasions, were so frightful as must have compelled them to withdraw had they been able fully to comprehend their meaning. Ignorance of the language concealed from them the extent of their danger. It is painful to learn, too, that the worst enemies of the mission at a later period were some of their own household. The number of teachers was increased; "and some, influenced by the spirit of the wicked one, early crept in among the faithful few. So far, indeed, did some of them dishonour the self-denying doctrines of the Cross, which they had been sent here to teach, that no less painful a plan could be adopted than an ignominious erasure of their names from the Society's labourers."*

The main obstacle at the commencement was unquestionably the ignorance under which the missionaries laboured of the peculiar dialect in use among the natives, because so delicate are its idioms, that the slightest departure from the wonted arrangement of words in a sentence, might convey either an insult or a ludicrous association of ideas. Nor did the rude audience consider it necessary to conceal their impressions. On the contrary, sometimes in the middle of the service they would suddenly start up, with the cry of "that's a lie! that's a lie! who will stay to hear what that man has to say? Let us all go, all go." But as soon as they were able to converse with the inhabitants, and could in some degree make themselves intelligible, the clouds began to pass away, and light dawned upon their future course.†

About the period to which we now allude, two chiefs, Hongi and Waikato, paid a visit to England, where they were introduced to the prince regent, who loaded them at once with gifts and civilities. At length, after having seen some of the wonders of art and of cultivated

* An Account of New Zealand, and of the Formation and Progress of the Church Missionary Society's Mission in the Northern Island. By the Rev. William Yate, Missionary (small 8vo, Lond. 1835), p. 168.

† Ibid. p. 169.

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mind in various parts of the country, they returned to their own land with a large supply of every thing on which the people of New Zealand set the highest value. From this epoch the missionaries rose in the estimation of the natives at large, and enjoyed, more especially, the protection of the two favoured leaders. To the friendship of Hongi, in particular, may be attributed, under God, the safety of their small establishment. On several occasions he threw himself between them and death, prevented attacks upon their property, and, at all hazards to his own interests, he was ever ready to defend theirs.

It is remarked by an intelligent author, as a disadvantage in New Zealand, that there is no king over the whole group, nor even over one of the larger islands. The people are governed by a number of chieftains, each indeed a sovereign over his own narrow territory. A desire to enlarge their domains, increase their power, or gratify revenge, leads to frequent wars, strengthens jealousy, keeps them from forming any common bond of union, and precludes the adoption of a general or consistent plan for spreading among them the benefits of civilisation. In the Society and Sandwich clusters, on the other hand, the missionaries found great advantage from the circumstance that each island had its chief, and that, in some instances, several adjacent ones were under the government of a ruler whose authority was supreme, and whose influence predisposed them, as a nation, to receive the instruction imparted by individuals whom he had been pleased at once to countenance and protect.*

Finding the original station at Rangihoua no longer suited to their more extended views, the missionaries purchased or otherwise obtained permission to settle at Tepuna, Kerikeri, Paihia, and finally, at the Waimate,

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* Ellis, Polynesian Researches, vol. iii. p. 360. He remarks, notwithstanding, "that to the eye of a missionary, New Zealand is an interesting country, inhabited by a people of no ordinary powers, could they be brought under the influence of right principles."

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whence they had a more easy intercourse with the interior of the island. A narrative of the proceedings at Paihia, from August 1823 to June 1831, which was sent to England by desire of the committee of the Church Missionary Society, presents several interesting details relative to the progress of religious knowledge among the natives in that quarter. Two preachers with their families settled in the wilderness, in the midst of tribes who occupied the land on each side to a considerable distance. A house, composed chiefly of rushes, was soon erected for them, in which they spent the first year, using every means in their power to induce the young people to accept instruction, and become the objects of their kindness. Their habitation was continually beset from daylight till dark by their simple neighbours, who were attracted by the novelty of the things they beheld. A few boys and girls were permitted to live with the missionaries ; but a single word from any of the chiefs sent them all off in an instant. Frequently, too, when particularly wanted, they all ran away into the bush, thinking thereby to show to their new countrymen how necessary they were to their proceedings. This conduct continued, in a greater or less degree, about two years ; afterwards, the members increased, and their demeanour became much more orderly.

At the date of the Report, the buildings at Paihia were a chapel, two dwelling-houses, several workshops, and sheds for the cattle. The number of native baptisms was thirty, including ten children, and the behaviour of the converts, generally speaking, was not unworthy of the vocation to which they had listened. The Sunday services are conducted as follows :—At eight in the morning the inhabitants of the vicinity are assembled together with the mission families at the station, and such foreign residents in different parts of the adjoining bay as are disposed to attend. The prayers of the church and one of the lessons are read in the New Zealand language, and the natives are also addressed in the same tongue on their faith and duties. The remainder of the

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service, with a sermon, is said in English; and, when these are ended, the ministers, accompanied by some of the better instructed among their converts, proceed to different settlements, within a short distance, where attentive congregations are generally found awaiting their arrival.

While they are thus employed, the schools are open for the children of both sexes, who are catechised by the missionaries' wives, aided by baptized youths, selected for this office on account of their piety and acquirements. At three o'clock, divine service, exclusively in English, is performed; and at six the evening prayers are offered up in the dialect of the islands. The attention shown on these occasions by the indigenous inhabitants is an abundant encouragement to the prosecution of the great work; and many of them, from time to time, are added to the church.*

But hitherto the stations may be said to have reference to the convenience of the Europeans occasionally resident near the Bay of Islands, rather than to the direct improvement of the general population. The missionaries had been hovering, as it were, on the skirts of the country; and with all the efforts made by them no permanent footing was yet established beyond these outposts. They had been watching the workings of the native mind, and looking for the openings of Providence to indicate the path which they ought to pursue. Still

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* Yate's New Zealand, p. 176, where the "account of operations" is quoted from the records of the Church Missionary Society. It is added, that "a large addition has of late been made by purchase to the Society's land on either side of the settlement, by which a good supply of timber for fuel has been secured. The land is generally barren, consisting for the most part of hills; the patches of low ground are available for cultivation, and afford also pasturage for the cattle. During the year, fourteen hundred bushels of potatoes have been raised towards the maintenance of the schools." "Imperfect," says the Report, "as is the sketch of this station which has thus been traced, it contains enough to show that the missionaries have abundant reason to view the past and the present with thankfulness, and the future with hope."

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they felt assured that no great work would be accomplished till they could form a regular establishment in the interior of the country, in a more populous and improved district than they had yet been permitted to occupy. The principal persons had refused, during nearly fifteen years, to allow any one to reside near their larger villages in the cultivated portion of the island; and had always rejected the proposals, from time to time made to them, for the furtherance of the gospel in the vicinity where they themselves resided. But towards the close of 1829 a great change became manifest in their opinions on this important subject, and the most pressing invitations were now given by individuals, who, a short time before, would not listen to any terms of negotiation. Experience had convinced the New Zealand chiefs that the objects of the missionaries were truly benevolent; pointing not only to the eternal welfare of the ignorant people, but also to their temporal comfort through the medium of letters and a knowledge of the useful arts. Yielding to the solicitations repeatedly addressed to them, the local committee resolved to select a place on the Waimate, which should at the same time possess the advantage of proximity to the greatest number of natives, and a portion of good ground for the purposes of agriculture. A spot was marked out, presenting in a high degree both these recommendations. The people expressed their willingness to part with it, and the land was forthwith conveyed in proper form to the agents of the Society.*

The improvement which usually attends the progress of Christianity soon became apparent at this new station. To all the native residences in connexion with the district, stretching about thirty-five miles to the south-west,

* Yate's New Zealand, p. 190. "The parent committee," says the author, "have ever recommended the growth of wheat for our own subsistence, and have lent most substantial aid in furthering so very desirable an object. They thought, and justly too, that if the natives saw somewhat of the blessings of civilisation, and the effects of industry, they would themselves become both civilized and industrious."—P. 189.

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roads were immediately cut by the people, to facilitate the visits of the missionaries. The villages are very numerous, and the inhabitants scattered over an extensive tract of country; but in all places, where the population was so large as to require them, chapels were erected on the native plan, and dedicated to the service of the Redeemer. Some of these structures were spacious enough to contain two hundred persons; and the service of the English church was regularly performed whenever the weather did not prevent the necessary travelling. At every station schools were opened, under the sanction of the chiefs, for all ages and classes of the people.

Waimate could soon boast of an infant seminary, where the children were at once taught to read, and to acquire habits of industry. A school for youths was established, in which the usual lessons are given from six till eight in summer, and from seven till nine during the winter months. The remaining portion of the day is devoted to the work of the settlement, all of which is done by natives, under the superintendence of the lay members of the mission; for, excepting a millwright to erect a mill, and a blacksmith to prepare the iron implements, no European has been employed in manual labour. Upwards of fifty thousand bricks were burnt, most of which were used in building chimneys; while more than seven hundred thousand feet of timber were felled and sawn up into planks, boards, and scantlings. "Three substantial weather-board dwelling-houses, forty feet by twenty, with skilling at the back and returned at the ends, have been erected; likewise stables for the accommodation of twelve or fourteen horses, stores, carpenters' shops, blacksmiths' shops, outhouses, eight or ten weather-board cottages, twenty feet by fifteen; and a spacious chapel, capable of holding from three to four hundred persons. The mission-houses are fenced in with paling, and surrounded by more than thirty acres of cultivated land."*

Such, we are told, was the state of Waimate early in

* Yate's New Zealand, p. 197.

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1834, the commencement of its fourth year. The whole of the ground within the fences was broken up, part of it laid down with clover and part with grass. Other portions were appropriated to orchards, well stocked with fruit-trees, or to vegetable gardens, as well for the use of the missionaries as for the families of the married natives. In the more open land, or what might be properly called the farm, there were nearly fifty acres sown with wheat, barley, oats, maize, and lucerne. Justly is it remarked by Mr Yate, that a prospect more pleasing could not meet the eye of a philanthropist than the sight of the British plough breaking up the deserts of New Zealand, under the direction of indigenous labourers. The introduction of ploughs and harrows, all of which were made at Waimate, did, without doubt, constitute a momentous era in the history of that country. Till these implements were brought into use, the people little knew what their land was capable of producing, as only small portions had been brought into cultivation, owing to the great difficulty of working it with the hoe and the spade.*

Similar advantages followed the introduction of the gospel in other respects, the sanctifying and enlightening

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* Yate, p. 198. The author adds, that besides making carts, wagons, drays, ploughs, harrows, the natives had dug three wells upwards of fifty feet deep; erected a dam, and cut out a race for the mill; and that the whole was accomplished by forty youths and forty adults, who had never before been accustomed to labour. But of all the triumphs of civilisation, there is nothing so gratifying as the progress of the people in letters and religious principle. They have aided in the translation of the liturgy into their own language, and, accordingly, can worship God in the public assembly, in a form of words used by the most enlightened nation in the world. "The church at this time," says he, "is crowded to excess by an attentive and devout congregation; and I have seen hundreds pressing for admittance, for whom room could not be obtained. How many happy Sabbaths have I spent at the Waimate! and how my inmost soul rejoiced as I have seen the once-deluded people of this land listening with delight to the sound of the church-going bell, and hastening with willing feet to the house of the Lord. There is something peculiarly pleasing in the sound of the bell amidst the wilds of New Zealand."

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power of which is not diminished in these latter days. Effects hardly less astonishing than those which marked its progress in the days of the apostles have manifested themselves among the heathen of New Zealand; turning their hearts from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to the service of the living God. Next to the blessings of a more spiritual nature may be stated the thirst for knowledge which has been very generally excited; some professing the utmost readiness to contribute part of their slender income towards the purchase of books, slates, and other school-materials. The inhabitants, we are assured, are an inquiring people, and the knowledge thus obtained is communicated from one district to another; sometimes it is conveyed to tribes at a great distance, who were thought to be in total ignorance. Persons who were made prisoners of war, and reduced to slavery at the Bay of Islands, have been educated in the mission-schools; and these, after procuring their freedom by favour or purchase, have carried with them among their relations the little stock of information they had acquired, and even commenced the work of instruction. This step once taken, the result has, in most cases, proved very gratifying. Their rude neighbours listened with wonder to all the strange things which they had to tell, and hence became more inclined to receive from their lips the elements of the pure faith which had also been revealed by the white men. When they found that the returned captives had at the same time learned the arts of the blacksmith, carpenter, and brickmaker, and could thereby render essential aid in building houses, and in otherwise adding to their comforts, they lent a more respectful ear to their spiritual admonitions, as coming from a source which, on other accounts, they were disposed to venerate.

In such circumstances it is scarcely necessary to add that the domestic character is much improved. Children are now more carefully brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. Polygamy is almost every where abolished, and the inhuman practices which so

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deeply disgraced the land, are generally suppressed. It was customary, at no distant period, for the relations of a departed chief to kill a number of slaves, male and female, as a satisfaction to his ghost, and in order that they might do him service in the world of spirits. Fears were entertained that at the death of Hongi, their most distinguished leader, many victims would be immolated to their cruel superstition; but so complete a change has taken place in the feelings and principles of the natives, that not one of his retainers was demanded by the priests.

Nothing can be more agreeable to those who are interested in the welfare of a people still in the earliest stage of civilisation, than to be informed that their wandering, thievish propensities are gradually giving way to more settled, honest, and industrious habits. They are now inclined to build better habitations for their households, and to connect the enjoyment of comfort with the idea of home. A deserted village is now rarely observed. Every where the men are seen cultivating the ground or improving their dwellings, while the women are employed in some way calculated to be beneficial to themselves or their families. Religion has taught them to extend their interests into the future; to reflect on the past, and to anticipate events for which they now labour to prepare the way; in a word, to discharge the functions of reason with reference to their own well-being in this world and the next. The rulers of these little nations already perceive the benefits of knowledge, and more especially of the arts. "What are these missionaries come to dwell with us for?" asked one of them when contemplating the important changes which were taking place under their auspices. Answering himself, he said, "they are come to break our clubs and establish peace." Again, following up his own idea, he subjoined, "they are come to break our clubs in two—to blunt the points of our spears—to draw the bullets from our muskets—and to make this tribe and that tribe love one another, and sit down as brothers and friends."*

* Yate's New Zealand, p. 206.

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The advantages of religious knowledge having become so manifest, new stations were established in various places, in particular, at Kaitai and Puriri, on the Thames, both fertile and very improvable districts. The former is placed in a beautiful valley, situated nearly at an equal distance from the eastern and western coasts; the island at this point being so narrow, that the roaring of the surf on both beaches can be distinctly heard. In connexion with this settlement, there are many natives who can be regularly visited; and they themselves have cut roads in order to facilitate their intercourse with the missionaries, whose instructions they highly value. In regard to the other, it is mentioned that the banks of the Thames are remarkably fruitful. Thousands of acres of the finest flax flourish there undisturbed; and nothing but machinery is wanted to render this production extremely valuable. Farther up are found large fields of potatoes and corn, the result of European cultivation, interspersed with native villages, where the rural labourers reside.

Preparatory to the founding of these infant churches in the northern island, two of the brethren travelled over a large extent of country, visiting all the harbours on the western coast as far southward as Albatross. They found that all of them except Manukau were greatly obstructed at the entrance by dangerous bars, on which the sea almost constantly breaks, while the depth of water was too scanty to admit ships of any considerable burden. They crossed many large rivers, which seemed to pass through fertile lands, inhabited by a numerous population, and composing part of the district called Waikato. Here, as in other sections of the island, where the natives do not live in fortifications for security, they are found to reside in villages at the distance of a few miles one from the other. Their cultivated spots are still more scattered, upon the principle every where adopted, that should they be attacked by what they call a stripping party, only one portion of their food may be carried away, and that they may still have something to depend upon, after their enemies have removed every thing that they appeared to possess.

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"We are now," says Mr Yate, "become pretty well acquainted with the number of inhabitants in all parts of the country, from the North Cape as far south as Table Cape; and the time is not far distant when we may hope to extend our researches as far as Entry Island, in Cook's Straits; and shall thus soon know the whole of the northern island of New Zealand, in the length and in the breadth thereof. Every effort is now made to discover, and to bring into service, the resources of the country itself, that we may be enabled to form new and distinct stations, without incurring much additional expense. By this method also the natives themselves will be materially benefited, as the work will be accomplished principally by their agency; and they will see that their land affords them many necessaries, as well as some other articles of luxury, with which they now supply themselves from other nations, at a very large expense of labour or of property,—labour which might be much better applied, and property which might be turned to far better account."*

The most satisfactory account of the New Zealand mission, and of the fruits produced by their labours, is found in a narrative which was addressed to the directors by the Bishop of Australia, who visited the colony in the year 1839. At every station which he personally inspected, the converts were so numerous as to bear a considerable proportion to the entire population. He states, that in most of the native villages where the missionaries have obtained a footing, there is a building, containing one room, superior in fabric and dimensions to the ordinary dwellings, which appears to be set apart as their place of assembling for religious worship, or to read the Scriptures, or to receive the exhortations of their spiritual teachers. In these edifices generally, but sometimes in the open air, the christian classes were assembled be-

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* Page 269. In the Appendix to his little volume, the author has annexed a variety of letters which he had induced the natives to write to him on religious subjects. Some of these are very interesting as the first efforts of untutored minds.

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fore him. The grayhaired man and the aged woman took their places to read, and to undergo examination, among their descendants of the second and third generations. The chief and slave stood side by side with the holy volume in their hands, and exerted their endeavours each to surpass the other in returning proper answers to the questions put to them concerning what they had been reading. These assemblages he encouraged on all occasions, not only from the pleasure which the exhibition itself afforded, but because he was thereby enabled in the most certain and satisfactory way to probe the extent of their acquirements and improvement. The experience thus obtained induced him to apply the term "converts" to those alone who, in the apparent sincerity of their convictions, and in the extent of their information compared with their limited opportunities, might be considered Christians indeed.*

As the missionaries employed in those islands were, generally speaking, members of the English establishment, the committee in London had opened a communication with the bishop just mentioned, in order to establish, through his instrumentality, "such an exercise of the episcopal functions as the nature of the case would admit." It was in some degree in consequence of this application that he proceeded thither, hoping, as he expresses it, "to set in order the things which are wanting, and to confirm the native converts in their adherence to the doctrines of that church whose teaching first conveyed to them the glad tidings of redemption." The directors did not lose sight of that important object: on the contrary, they expressed a unanimous concurrence in the opinion which he conveyed to them, after his professional visitation to New Zealand, that "the Church of England requires to be planted there in the full

* Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, 1840, p. 85. According to this Report, the mission consists of 8 missionaries, 1 surgeon, 1 farmer, 1 superintendent of press, 1 printer, 17 catechists, 3 artisans and other assistants, 2 female teachers, and 43 native teachers.

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integrity of its system." It is probably known to most of our readers that the desire here expressed has been cheerfully met on the part of the government, who, a few months ago, sanctioned the appointment of a bishop to New Zealand, now formally recognised as a colony under the protection of the crown.

The stations, which bear some reference to the fourteen districts into which the northern island may be conveniently divided, amount to nearly the same number. The extent of the several congregations may be estimated from the following statement, supplied by one of the ministers in a recent communication to the board in this country :—

Kaitaia, in which chapels are erected at every principal point, averages...	1020
Bay of Islands, including Wangaroa,...	1940
Thames, comprehending both sides of the firth,...	700
Tauranga, with Matamata and Maungatautari,...	1000
Rotorua, including the central parts of Taupo,...	1400
Bay of Plenty, Opotiki, Toure, and Motu,...	500
East Cape,...	1200
Poverty Bay, including Hauna,...	1000
Wairoa, partially visited, has no return.	
Entry Island, under the instruction of native teachers.	
Waikato, divided by churchmen and Wesleyans.	
Taranake, Hokianga, and Kapiti, not returned.	

The summary of the mission is given as follows :—

Stations,...		12
Communicants,...		233
Attendants on public worship,...		8760
Schools,...		72
Scholars, viz. Boys,...	163	
Girls,...	159	
Sexes not distinguished,...	1245	
Youths and adults,...	229	
		1796

It is not maintained by the missionaries that all who rank as Christians are either sincere or well-informed. Mr King, one of their number, remarks, that "many of those who make a profession of the gospel relapse for a time, and then come forward again ; so that they do not give satisfactory evidence of their sincerity, and thereby

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perplex our minds. The number of natives under christian instruction, and favoured with the means of grace, is very large ; but the number of those only who are, in my opinion, decidedly christian, is very small." Nevertheless, no one can view the past and the probable future without claiming that tribute of respect to the missionary body which, by persons who have, on the spot, paid a candid attention to the subject, has never been withheld from them. It ought not to be forgotten, that to their self-denying and persevering exertions it is owing that New Zealand has become what it now is. To them are due the introduction of agriculture and gardening, the use of the spade, the plough, and the mill ; they carried thither cattle, sheep, and horses ; they have built houses and chapels ; they have cut roads through forests, and constructed bridges over rivers ; they have, in a word, been the honoured instruments of rendering that important country safe to emigrants and settlers.*

Ever since Europeans set their foot on the shores of New Zealand, the natives have been animated with an eager desire to make themselves acquainted with the great secret of civilisation. With this view they occasionally resorted to the British colony of Australia, served on board our merchant ships, and assisted in the operations of whale-fishing. Their country, in return, became the asylum of many individuals who could boast of no other. Down to the year 1839 the European population in the northern island consisted of the very refuse of society ; of convicts who had escaped from the penal settlements ; of runaway sailors ; of needy adventurers, whose improvident habits and bad characters had expelled them from all intercourse with those who respect the decencies of life ; and of a few enterprising persons who had atoned for their offences by enduring the regulated period of bondage.†

* Fortieth Report of Church Missionary Society, p. 96.

† New Zealand in 1839 : or Four Letters to the Right Hon. Earl Durham, Governor of the New Zealand Land Company,

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So early as 1825 an attempt was made to colonize New Zealand by a Company formed in London, who proceeded in their design so far as to purchase some ground and send thither two ships with suitable cargoes. But this undertaking, impeded by many unforeseen difficulties, was soon abandoned. Nothing more was done till the year 1836, when an association was formed, at the suggestion of some members of the House of Commons, whose main object was the improvement of the islands. This body consisted of two classes; first, heads of families, who intended to establish themselves in the proposed settlement; and, secondly, public men, who, on their own responsibility, were willing to undertake the difficult task of carrying the measure into operation. But neither was this project crowned with success. The ministry being decidedly opposed to it, a bill brought into Parliament for the purpose of forming "a provisional government of British settlements of New Zealand" was thrown out. Such exertions, however, could not be made without some advantage. A committee of the Lords was named, who collected a great mass of valuable evidence, which at once enlightened the path and confirmed the hopes of future adventurers.*

The original association was indeed dissolved; but some of the same individuals soon afterwards formed another with an adequate capital, and, early in the year 1839, they became possessed by purchase or negotiation of large tracts in the northern island, called by the natives Eaheinamauwee. The New Zealand Company began their operations by an announcement to the public, that their "attention and business will be confined to the purchase of tracts of land, the promotion of emigration to those tracts directly from the United Kingdom, the laying out of settlements and towns in the

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on the Colonization of that Island, and on the Present Condition and Prospects of the Native Inhabitants. By John Dunmore Lang, D. D. (Lond. 1839), p. 7.

* Report: Present State of the Islands of New Zealand. Ordered by House of Commons to be printed, 8th August 1838.

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most favourable situations, and the gradual resale of such lands according to the value bestowed upon them by emigration and settlement." In May, their first ship sailed, under the direction of the Company's chief agent, who was instructed to pay particular regard to the mode of dealing with the natives in the purchase of land, to the acquisition of general information respecting the country, and to preparations for the establishment of settlements. From the outset, a strong preference was manifested for Cook's Straits, as being in the main track between Great Britain and her Polynesian colonies. The directors accordingly secured the whole of the territory on both sides of the Straits, including Port Nicholson, said to be one of the finest harbours in the world; and there the principal colony has been successfully formed, which now contains upwards of four thousand inhabitants. Nor have the interests of the natives been in any degree overlooked. There is reserved to them one-tenth of the whole lands purchased; an inheritance which, in a little while, will become of greater value to their families, and the source of more extended comfort, than if they had retained possession of the whole district in its wild state.

The views of the Company touching the aborigines have hitherto been fully realized in the colony, not merely by their own officers, but by the settlers at large. In particular, their agent, Colonel Wakefield, has all along acted on the most liberal and conciliating principles. By his equity and good temper, qualities to which the natives are not blind, he soon succeeded in gaining their confidence; and, accordingly, when the first body of emigrants arrived, they found a predisposition to receive them with friendship, and to perform for them such services as they immediately required. In constructing the basis of this colony, the Company assigned eleven hundred acres for the town called Wellington, and one hundred and ten thousand acres to form the rural sections of one hundred acres each. These lands were divided into eleven hundred sections, each

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comprehending one hundred rural acres and one town acre. Deducting the land reserved for the aborigines, the remainder was offered for sale at one pound the acre, or a hundred and one pounds for each section. On paying this sum, the purchaser received a land-order on the Company's local officer, entitling the holder to select his section according to priority of choice, determined by lot. The amount realized in the course of a few weeks was £99,990, after deducting the native reserves. Of this sum, seventy-five per cent., or £74,992, 10s., was set apart to form the emigration-fund: that is, to supply means for defraying the expense of conveying settlers to the colony, and thereby to increase the value of the lands already sold. By the conditions of sale, indeed, the buyers of land-orders were entitled to 75 per cent. of their purchase-money, either in the shape of free passages for themselves and families, or for their servants and labourers; and where no claim was made, the benefit was equally conferred on the landowner, as the whole of the emigration-fund would be devoted to the conveyance of useful hands to the colony.*

It was in the month of July that the land-fund was formed, and before the close of the year between eleven and twelve hundred persons were conveyed to the colony. Of these the great majority were labourers, well fitted by their age and physical qualities to realize the purpose of their mission; being for the most part in the prime of life, in full health, and of approved moral character. Among the wealthier classes were some of birth, education, and refinement, who, carrying out with them the seeds of civilisation, will soon extend the happy fruits of it over the whole land which they have adopted for their home.

At this stage the government, who had hitherto felt themselves impeded by difficulties arising from the pecu-

* Encyclopædia Britannica, article New Zealand. Information relative to New Zealand, compiled for the use of Colonists, by John Ward, Esq., Secretary to the New Zealand Company. Lond. 1841.

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liar condition of New Zealand, resolved to take steps for erecting a part of it into a British colony. Captain Hobson was instructed to proceed thither in quality of consul, to treat with the chiefs for the cession of part of their territory to the crown of England; it being understood that the islands were to be held as free and independent until the transference now contemplated should be accomplished. This step, as it implied the relinquishment of all claim on the ground of discovery and occupation, was attended with the inconvenience of throwing open the country to all European powers who might think proper to form colonies in it. France, immediately availing herself of the privilege thus tacitly granted, sent out sixty settlers in a regular transport, who were only twenty days too late to take possession of the southern island in the name of Louis Philippe. Captain Hobson, probably aware of this expedition, had in the mean time proclaimed the queen's sovereignty over the whole group, including the smaller islands on the coast.

But ministers seem not to have been prepared for so decided a measure on the part of their agent. On the 18th March 1841, there was laid on the table of the House of Commons the "Correspondence with the Secretary of State relative to New Zealand;" when, after some discussion, a memorandum was recorded, in which the pretensions made in behalf of her majesty to the sovereignty of New Zealand were repelled, and that country declared to be a substantive and independent state. Soon afterwards a public meeting was held in the city of London, when a petition to the queen and the two houses of parliament was numerously signed, praying that the subject might be taken into immediate consideration, and "these valuable islands preserved to the British dominions." The cabinet now saw the propriety of no longer opposing the wishes of the public, or of subjecting the emigrants to the disadvantage of being surrounded by foreign settlers, who, besides proving rivals in trade, might rouse the jealousy of the natives against the local government. Towards the end of October, the Company were enabled

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to announce that the differences which had existed between Government and themselves were finally adjusted. It was made known, at the same time, that New Zealand was no longer to be a dependency of New South Wales, as originally stipulated, but was thenceforth to be held as a separate and independent colony. A charter was granted to the Company, on certain equitable conditions, and the process of settlement has, since the autumn of 1840, been conducted with great success.*

The geographical features of both islands seem to justify the peculiar mode of settling which the Company have adopted; for, being long and narrow, the line of seacoast is necessarily very great in proportion to the extent of surface. There are at short distances some splendid harbours, in the neighbourhood of which the Europeans have generally established themselves; but the limited space between the central hills and the ocean precludes the possibility of large rivers, though some are said to be well adapted for internal navigation. Port Nicholson, if allowed to derive the full advantage from its situation and fine haven, will, it has been predicted, make Wellington the great commercial metropolis, not merely of New Zealand, but of our whole Australian possessions. The Bay of Islands has been long partially settled, but not under such favourable auspices, having been indebted for part of its population to the class of adventurers to whom we have already alluded, and whose circumstances imperatively required a change of scene. The Company have resolved to form another settlement, to be called Nelson. The extent of land allotted for it is two hundred one thousand acres, divided into one thousand allotments of one hundred and fifty rural acres, fifty suburban acres, and one town acre. The

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* Encyclopædia Britannica, article New Zealand. At the end of 1840, the white population of New Zealand, being chiefly emigrants from this country, was as follows :—

Wellington and Port Nicholson,................	3177
Other parts of New Zealand,.......................	2350
	5527

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price of each allotment is £300, so that the total sum placed at the disposal of the Company is £300,000, which will be thus distributed: £150,000 for the emigration of young couples to this particular settlement; £50,000 to defray the cost of surveys; and £50,000 for public purposes, such as the establishment of a college, religious endowments, the encouragement of steam navigation, and similar objects. Fifty thousand pounds will remain to reimburse the Company for their expenses and the use of capital.

Captain Hobson, it appears, has selected the harbour of Waitemata, on the Firth of the Thames, as the seat of his government, where he has also made preparations for the building of a town, to be named Auckland. It contains at present about two hundred inhabitants; and although, under the fostering influence of the chief ruler, it will doubtless increase, "it must ever remain insignificant compared with the commercial capital Wellington." To that and the other settlements separate municipalities will be given; with which view suitable appointments have been made, and officers properly qualified have been sent out.*

With reference to the advantages of New Zealand, it is pleasant to remark, that a communication with it will probably be opened by the Isthmus of Panama and the Pacific Ocean. A steam navigation company have contracted to carry the West India mails for a certain number of years. From Jamaica to Porto Bello, the distance is only 550 miles, which will be accomplished by steam; and it is now proved beyond all doubt, that a railroad or a ship-canal through the neck of land itself may be effected at a moderate expense. From Panama a steam conveyance is already established as far as Lima, and even occasionally to Valparaiso; all, therefore, that remains to be done, is to establish a regular intercourse between the western coast of America and Cook's Straits or the Bay of Islands. Callao in Peru is mentioned in the

* Encyclopædia Britannica, part cxxv. p. 982.

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Report of the Directors of the New Zealand Company as the place most favourable for carrying on such communication. At present, the average time occupied in a voyage to the colony at Port Nicholson is one hundred and twenty days, whereas, by the isthmus, it would not in general exceed eighty days; being a saving of one-third, as well as a security against the hazards which assail navigation in the vicinity of either cape.

Reflecting on the statements now made, in connexion with the effect which must be produced on the character and condition of the natives, we feel ourselves somewhat prepared to answer the question, whether our settlements in New Zealand are likely to promote the benevolent objects contemplated by the wise and good men who have recently countenanced the formation of such colonies. It may be remarked, in the first place, that, so little have the inhabitants availed themselves of the natural advantages of soil and climate, they cannot be said to have taken possession of the country which they call their own. It is still the uninvaded domain of nature; and they are merely a handful of stragglers who wander about its outskirts. They have no arts or manufactures which minister to wealth and comfort; no commerce, domestic or foreign; no distribution of the people into trades and professions, and no coin or circulating medium. The country is nearly a wilderness; all swamp or woodland, except a few scattered patches by the seaside, or along the courses of the rivers. Their villages are merely small groups of hovels, that dot the earth like so many molehills, hardly affording a shelter from the weather.

The appearance, too, of the natives, and the state of their personal accommodations, distinguish them almost as much from the people of a civilized country as if they were another species. It is said that there is a wild unsettledness in the very expression of their countenances, which assimilates them to a troop of predaceous animals. They have in most cases a profusion of fantastic decorations painted or engraven upon their bodies, while clusters

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of baubles dangling around them, combined with coloured earth, grease, filth, and even vermin, complete the humbling spectacle. Their food is coarse, and their cooking rude to a degree that almost takes from it the right to be called by the same name with the art which, in a civilized country, heightens the enjoyment of the poorest man's meal with no inconsiderable variety of preparation. Their furniture is equally scanty and inconvenient. Generally speaking, they have neither tables nor chairs; their beds are usually the floor; and their covering for the night the same mats which serve them as clothes during the day. Unacquainted with the useful arts, the savage has rarely made any progress in those which improve the taste or elevate the imagination. His ignorance of letters, too, keeps the community almost in the same situation with a herd of the lower animals, in so far as the accumulation of knowledge or intellectual advancement is concerned. The New Zealanders, for example, seem to have been in quite as enlightened a state when Tasman discovered the country in 1642, as they were when Cook visited them after the lapse of a hundred and twenty-seven years.*

But it is not to be imagined that they are incapable of being civilized. Ferocious as they are, their habits and feelings are not more beyond the reach of improvement than were those of the ancestors of the most polished nations of Europe; and it deserves notice, that with all their savage propensities, they are possessed of many high qualities, both moral and intellectual. The means, too, which are actually employed for their elevation in social life, are unquestionably the most gentle and efficacious that could possibly be devised. Knowledge is merely offered to those who may be pleased to accept it; their prejudices are opposed by argument alone, not by violence or intimidation; the arts of civilisation are simply transported into their country, and allowed to recommend themselves to the inhabitants through their utility and

* The New Zealanders (Library of Entertaining Knowledge), p. 399. This little work contains an interesting variety of facts, together with many judicious reflections.

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importance. This experiment can scarcely excite any reaction or rouse feelings of jealousy, while every day that its beneficial effects are witnessed may be reasonably expected to add to its triumphs. The natives not only find their property improved, and their command over its productions increased, but its exchangeable value greatly augmented.*

We may add, on the authority quoted below, that the earliest scheme for the accomplishment of this object was suggested by the celebrated Dr Franklin. In the year 1771, only a few months after Cook's return from his first voyage, the American statesman, who was then in England, proposed that a subscription should be set on foot, in which he would join, in order to fit out a vessel which should proceed to New Zealand with a cargo of such commodities as the natives were most in want of, and bring in return so much of the produce of the country as might prove equal to the expenses of the adventure. But the principal object of the expedition was to promote the improvement of the people, by opening to them the means of intercourse with the civilized world. Franklin drew up a series of proposals for the conduct of the enterprise, accompanied with an address to the public; in which last he remarks that the island of Great Britain is said to have originally produced only sloes, and that this fact may teach us how great and wealthy a country may become, even from the smallest beginnings, under the renovating influences of industry and the arts. He then proposes that the object to be kept in view should be to put the natives in possession of hogs, fowls, goats, cattle, corn, iron, and the other means of enabling and inducing them to exchange their roving warlike life for the peaceful pursuits of agriculture. It need not be added that the plan, owing to the difficulty of procuring subscriptions, or other causes, was never executed, and we now refer to it simply with the intention of showing that the wise suggestions it contains

* See Dodsley's Annual Register, quoted by the author of The New Zealanders, p. 410.

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have been made the basis of the scheme pursued by those benevolent individuals who have carried to New Zealand the elements of knowledge both divine and secular.*

Proofs have already been afforded of a striking peculiarity in the character of this people, which is very encouraging to the hope of their ultimate civilisation; namely, the eagerness they have shown to visit foreign countries, and to see with their own eyes whatever might gratify curiosity or prove subservient to usefulness. Even in the days of Cook this spirit of research displayed itself; and every one is aware of the difficulties which in more recent times have been overcome by these enterprising islanders in seeking an acquaintance with distant lands. Mr Marsden remarks, "my opinion is, that if half the New Zealanders were to die in their attempt to force themselves into civil life, the other half would not be deterred from making a similar effort; so desirous do they seem to attain our advantages." It is well known, too, that they are proud to array themselves in the dress of Europeans, and endeavour, as far as they can, to imitate their manners, and even their modes of feeling and thinking. Nay, many of them understand the language of their English visiters, and are themselves fond of speaking it; while the desire for European clothes, blankets, tea, sugar, bread, and other comforts, has become general in the neighbourhood of the missions.†

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* The settlements planted and fostered by the missionaries can now boast the following productions:—"Wheat, oats, barley, pease, horse and kitchen beans, tares, hops, turnips, carrots, radishes, cabbages, potatoes, lettuce, red beet, brocoli, endive, asparagus, cresses, onions, shalots, celery, rock and water melons, pumpkins, cucumbers, parsley, vines, strawberries, raspberries, orange, lemon, apple, pear, peach, apricot, quince, almond, and plum trees, pepper and spear mint, sage, rice, marigolds, lilies, rosepinks, sweetwilliams, rosemary, featherdew, lavender, Dutch clover, meadow, feschu, rib, and sweet-scented vernal grasses."—Twenty Second Report of the Church Missionary Society, p. 199.

† Proceedings of Church Missionary Society, 1820, 1821, p. 364. At first, considerable difficulties were encountered in the attempt

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From the facts now detailed, it is manifest that the process of civilisation has commenced in New Zealand under very favourable circumstances. The natives, so lately separated from the cultivated portion of their species, not more by their geographical position than by the deep barbarism in which they were involved, are now brought into the light of knowledge and religion, and are no longer ignorant that there are other pursuits than those of war, and other enjoyments than those of revenge. Christianity, which is in every sense of the word the religion of civilisation, has gone forth among them attended by literature and the arts, and it is not possible that she

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to ingraft new habits on the untutored mind. Mrs Williams, wife of one of the missionaries, remarks, that "the best of the native girls, if not well watched, would strain the milk with the duster, wash the tea-things with the knife-cloth, or wipe the tables with the flannel for scouring the floor. The very best of them will also on a hot day take herself off, just when you may be wishing for some one to relieve you, and swim; after which she will go to sleep for two or three hours. If they are not in a humour to do any thing that you tell them, they will not understand you: it is by no means uncommon to receive such an answer as 'what care I for that?' The moment a boat arrives, away run all the native servants—men, boys, and girls, to the beach. If there is any thing to be seen, or any thing occurs in New Zealand, the mistress must do the work while the servants gaze abroad: she must not censure them, for, if they are 'rangatiras,' they will run away in a pet; and if they are 'cookies,' they will laugh at her, and tell her that she has 'too much of the mouth.' Having been forewarned of this, I wait and work away till they choose to come back, which they generally do at meal-time." The teachers, who had nearly similar complaints to make, soon found that it was no easy matter to obtain a regular attendance from their restless pupils. It was not enough that the children were fed; the parents thought proper to insist upon being paid for permitting the young ones to attend school. Indeed, after the first month, they got tired of the school-room altogether, and the masters were obliged to follow them into the woods. By a more liberal expenditure of provisions, however, they at last brought them under more regular government. At the best, the scene was somewhat tumultuous. 'While one child,' says Mr Kendall, 'is repeating his lesson, another will be playing with my feet, another taking away my hat, and another my book; and all this in the most friendly manner.'"—*Nineteenth Report of Church Missionary Society*, p. 200.

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should not eventually triumph over all the ignorance, prejudice, and ferocity with which she has here to contend. Such is the mild sway which her sublime faith is exercising over their rude minds, that it can hardly fail to restrain their destructive animosities, and abolish their sanguinary superstitions. Perhaps no feeling less ardent than a sense of religious duty could have supported the labourers in such a cause, surrounded by the difficulties and discouragements which met them at almost every step. But their task has gradually become easier and more cheering ; while few gratifications can be equal to that which they must enjoy, when they contemplate, as the fruit of their efforts under a benignant Providence, a general amendment of manners and a great increase of comfort among the savage people whom they had undertaken to instruct.

It has been justly observed, that if we stop at the present point of our advancement in the attempt to civilize the New Zealanders, there would be room for doubt whether we have not rather inflicted an injury upon them than conferred a benefit. They are still savages in almost every thing except their knowledge of the wealth and power of their European visiters, and in their possession of a few of the products of our manufactures which they themselves have not yet learned to practise. Besides, some of the worst propensities of the native character are inflamed ; and bad habits, formerly unknown, have been acquired. For example, they have probably carried on their wars with greater destruction of life than formerly, since they got muskets into their hands. The remedy for all these evils is the continuance of the training in religion, letters, agriculture, and the more simple of the arts. Sound and useful knowledge will at once occupy their minds, improve their feelings, and spread around them the blessings of security and competence. In this way we shall fulfil one of the most important duties incumbent on a commercial and maritime country. It is the price which we are called upon to pay for the many benefits we derive from our intercourse

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with the whole race of mankind in the East and in the West.*

On no other foundation than on that of mutual kindness shall we be able to establish our settlements in New Zealand. The people have not concealed that they will resist every intrusion of strangers who may threaten to reduce their tribes to slavery; and this they would do with an obstinacy which, though it might not succeed in warding off the usurpation, would certainly prolong the contest till the best blood in the land should be shed, and the spirits of the survivors permanently alienated. Even the small colonies already founded by our countrymen have not a little alarmed the patriotism of some of the chiefs. One of them on his deathbed expressed many apprehensions as to the ulterior designs of those formidable Europeans whom he had been the principal means of introducing to his native shores. Another revealed to a missionary his serious fears lest the English should in a little time increase their force, drive the inhabitants into the woods, and take possession of their

* It is known to most readers that Tooi, a young chief, and his friend Teeterree, visited England in the year 1818, where the former, more especially, conducted himself with great propriety, and seemed fascinated by the usages of civilized life. Next year, having returned to New Zealand, he went on board Captain Cruise's ship, who remarks, that "at breakfast he conducted himself quite like a gentleman." It is added, however, that his conversation all the time was "a continued boast of the atrocities he had committed during an excursion which he and Krokro had made two months before to the river Thames; and he dwelt with marked pleasure upon an instance of his generalship, when having forced a small party of his enemies into a narrow place, whence there was no egress, he was enabled successively to shoot two and twenty of them, without their having the power of making the slightest resistance. To qualify this story, he remarked that, 'though all the dead bodies were devoured by the tribe, neither he nor his brother ate human flesh, nor did they fight on Sundays. When asked why he did not try to turn the minds of his people to agriculture, he said it was impossible; 'that if you told a New Zealander to work, he fell asleep; but if you spoke of fighting, he opened his eyes as wide as a teacup; that the whole bent of his mind was war, and that he looked upon fighting as fun.'"—*Cruise's Journal*, p. 39. New Zealanders, p. 419.

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territory. Wheety, a third individual of the same class, who appears not to have been so devoted a patriot as some of his brethren, was wont to predict, as an event neither to be hindered nor regretted, "that New Zealand would one day be the white man's country." Were such suspicions to be generally entertained, the bloody retribution with which they have on several occasions avenged their real or imaginary wrongs, may prove to us an earnest, both of the consummate cunning they can employ in devising their plans of murder, and of the remorseless cruelty they display in putting them into execution. Our interest, therefore, is closely connected with our duty in pursuing the generous path into which the government has entered; carrying to the interesting people whose inheritance we seek to share the invaluable boon of a divine religion, and a portion of that useful knowledge which, while it gradually elevates the barbarian into the philosopher, secures to him all the benefits for which society was formed.

While we write, an Act has been passed under the auspices of ministers, "for regulating the sale of waste land belonging to the crown in the Australian colonies," and for promoting emigration on a large scale. This resolution seems to be founded on "Extracts of Correspondence relative to New Zealand" laid before the House of Commons in the course of 1841; in which are contained very ample details concerning the steps previously taken for establishing a regular colony in that settlement. In pursuance of the plan submitted to the Secretary of State, the extensive districts not yet occupied will, with the concurrence of the natives, be exposed to sale at the upset price of one pound an acre, in such quantities as may best promote the improvement of the country and the interests of the emigrants themselves. By these means an end will be put to the abuses which have hitherto more or less attended the appropriation of land, even in cases where neither violence nor fraud was meditated. The same arrangement will tend not only to augment the trade of the islands, but also to secure it

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for Great Britain, more especially that branch of it which is necessarily connected with the valuable fisheries established on the coast by numerous foreigners, as well from Europe as America.

It is provided in the Act just mentioned, that the lands to be sold shall be distinguished into three separate classes, namely, Town lots, Suburban lots, and Country lots. The power of conveying such property is vested in the governor, who is authorized and required, in name of her majesty, to alienate it in fee simple to the respective purchasers. Of the three descriptions of land, the two former must be sold by public auction; the last may be conveyed by private contract, if it shall have been previously offered for sale and not bought, but not for a smaller sum than the amount of the upset price. It is farther provided, that all such sales shall be for ready money; in other words, that a deposit of ten per cent. shall be paid at the time of purchase, and the remainder at the signing of the contract.

The stream of colonization has hitherto chiefly directed its course towards New Ulster, the northern island, owing principally to the accommodation found in its bays by the masters of whale-ships. But as New Munster presents many inducements to the agriculturist, and still more to the stock-farmer, whose wealth consists in the number of his cattle, there can be no doubt that its extensive valleys and green hills will be soon occupied by industrious settlers.

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CHAPTER XI.

General Remarks on the past and present Condition of Polynesia.

Principles of a higher Knowledge discoverable among Natives of South Sea—To be particularly traced in their religious Usages—Resemblance to Israelites, Greeks, and Romans—Influence of Chiefs in Conversion—Examples—Gospel advanced amidst War and Commotion—Caution necessary on the Part of Missionaries—First Intercourse with Europeans fatal to Aborigines—Experiment made by a Native as to Power of Gods—Various Opinions as to the Effect of Missionary Exertion—Improvement of People undeniable—Bad Conduct of certain French Officers—Progress of Religion in Hervey Islands, the Society Group, and Marquesas—Friendly Isles under Wesleyans—King George of Vavaoo—Death of Boki—Sandwich Islanders improved—Supposed Intolerance of Missionaries—Defence of their Conduct and Fruit of their Labour—Life at Honoruru—Alleged Depopulation of the Islands—Diseases propagated at New Zealand—Outbreak in New Ulster—Improved Mode of evangelizing that Country—Statement by Mr Yate—Liturgy—Religion aided by Knowledge and enlarged Intercourse—Trade in the Sandwich Islands and New Zealand—Whale-fishing—British Commerce—Prospects of Polynesia in regard to Wealth and Intelligence.

Through the dark cloud which envelops the early history of Polynesia, it is still possible to ascertain that the natives, more especially those of the central groups, must have inherited from their remote ancestors the principles of a higher knowledge and belief than they were found to possess, when in these latter days they were discov-

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ered by Europeans. A question has been raised whether they migrated directly from Asia to their present abodes, or whether their progenitors had not previously crossed the narrow straits which separate that continent from America. The point in debate is not perhaps worthy of the attention which has been bestowed upon it; and it is certain that, in the absence of all historical muniments, and even of a uniform tradition, it cannot now be satisfactorily determined. The ancient condition of the American tribes is not more perfectly understood than that of the Polynesian families, whose existence, till a period comparatively recent, was not known to any civilized people. That a considerable advance in the arts was made in the vast regions descried by Columbus, many ages before his memorable voyage, does not admit of any reasonable doubt. Relics of architecture and other tokens of an improved state are from time to time brought to light by the enterprise of modern travellers; some of which perhaps are sufficiently well marked to justify the inferences that have been drawn in support of a primitive civilisation throughout those provinces which stretch between the mouth of the river Plate and the Gulf of Mexico. Hence we must allow that there is more than fancy in the conjecture which traces in the rude figures at Easter Island and other parts of the South Sea some affinity to the more finished statues which have been discovered at Copan, Quirigua, Palenque, and Uxmal.*

It requires no ingenuity to discover in the religious usages of the Polynesians such a resemblance to those of the other Asiatic nations as to afford the greatest probability that they sprung from the same source. In the practices every where prevailing, we perceive traces of that original faith which, though given to man by a divine agency, has perpetuated itself through a channel so corrupted as to have lost the sublime import and the purer ceremonies by means of which it first addressed

* Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan. By John L. Stephens (2 vols 8vo, Lond. 1841). Vol. i. p 100-118; vol. ii. pp. 292-310, 420-432.

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itself to the acceptation of the descendants of Noah. Even the history of the Israelites, who, prior to their Babylonian thraldom, manifested a strong propensity to adopt the superstitions of the heathen, supplies materials for the illustration of this interesting subject; for, though separated by three thousand years, and the distance of nearly half the circumference of the earth, the posterity of Jacob displayed in their idolatrous worship an affinity to the ignorant hordes who now occupy the islands of the Pacific. The form of the temples in Otaheite and Woahoo, erected on the high place or under the green tree, remind the reader of the favourite resort of the chosen people for some ages after they crossed the Jordan. Even in the more guilty rites of human sacrifice we detect the same abuse of a sacred institution. Not only did they "inflame themselves with idols;" they also "slew the children in the valleys under the clefts of the rocks;" and this description given of them by the prophet might have been literally applied to the Georgian and Sandwich Islanders not many years ago.*

Could we trace the crime of infanticide among the natives of the South Sea to its origin, we should probably find that it arose from a religious obligation misunderstood and depraved. An attempt, it is well known, has been made to account for it on the ground of political economy; and a practice, than which none could be more revolting to the feelings of a parent, has been ascribed

* Isaiah, lvii. 5. In allusion to another superstition, the prophet says, "among the smooth stones of the stream is thy portion; they, they are thy lot, even to them hast thou poured a drink-offering, thou hast offered a meat-offering."—Verse 6th. The allusion here to the "smooth stones of the stream" is perfectly intelligible to every one at all conversant in heathen antiquities, where many instances occur of such stones being consecrated. It is imagined that the usage may be traced to the days of Jacob, who erected a stone at Bethel and poured oil on the top of it. Arnobius gives an account of his own practice in this respect before he became a Christian: "Si quando conspexeram lubricatum lapidem, et ex olivi unguine sordidatum; tanquam inesset vis præsens, adulabar, affabar, et beneficia poscebam nihil sentiente de trunco."—Lib. i. Lowth's Isaiah, vol. ii. p. 338.

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to the discovery, that population increases faster than any means which can be devised for maintaining it. This conclusion has been too hastily admitted. The breadfruit-tree can be multiplied with little toil, while the supply of food which it yields is less dependent on seasons than the corn of more temperate climates. Nor, amidst so many indications of improvidence and thoughtlessness as disgrace the Polynesians, are we entitled to ascribe to calculation an outrage upon the tenderest sympathies of nature, and one to which the mother especially would oppose the most vigorous resistance. It was not want that impelled the Israelites to slay their infants under the clefts of the rocks, or to pass them through the fire to Moloch. This unnatural sacrifice may without doubt be traced to that most enthralling class of superstitions which, having their origin in a divine ordinance, have been gradually corrupted by the inventions of men. The Levitical law required that the eldest son should be either set apart to the Lord, or redeemed with a price; an injunction which was not unlikely to be misunderstood during the progress of ages, and after the mixture of the chosen people with idolatrous tribes.

Even the institution of the Areois, it is probable, might be traced to a purpose which had for its aim not less the honour of the gods than the welfare of mankind. In the heroic times of Christianity, when the martial spirit inherited from Rome led the warriors of the church into foreign lands to seek a foe worthy of their arms, associations were formed, some of which terminated with as few claims to respect as are conceded to the knights-templar of Otaheite. The atrocities of these last are evidently the corruption of a principle which raised the mind to heaven before it was made the pretext for the grossest impurities. No fraternity has ever had its origin in the contemplation of an unmixed evil; but in many cases has the pursuit of a speculative fantastical good depraved the moral sense, while it wasted the best energies of the soul. We find that even among the sea-rovers

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of Scandinavia communities were formed, where the sanction of religion was employed to consecrate the most unholy engagements. In token of their alliance, the heroes were wont to make incisions in their hands and arms; and besmearing their weapons with the blood, or mixing it in a cup, each of them drank a portion. One of the most remarkable of these associations was that established at Julin, near the mouth of the Oder. From this brotherhood women were absolutely excluded; and in order to be admitted a member, the candidate was required to prove by witnesses that he had never refused to accept a challenge, and to take an oath that he would bring no female into the city. The reader will call to remembrance that the Areois not only claimed a descent from the gods, but their rites always began with sacrifice. Like the ancient Syrians, and even the heathen priests of a more civilized era in Europe, they perpetrated the most offensive immoralities in the name of their deities; mixing the ceremonies of a gross worship, founded on the productive powers of nature, with the maxims of a more early faith which they were unable to comprehend.*

A similar connexion may be traced between the usages of the Polynesians and those adopted by the Israelites from their pagan neighbours, and hence an additional proof is obtained of a primitive religion in the central parts of Asia, which had gradually extended in a corrupted form into the islands of the Great Sea. We allude to the practice of inflicting wounds on the body and cutting off the hair, on the death of a relation or a popular chief. Many instances of this custom were observed in the Sandwich group. At a particular village, the missionaries saw that many of the people had their hair either cut away or shaven closely on both sides of the head, while it was left very long in the middle. Upon being asked the reason for so singular a fashion, they replied,

* Scandinavia, Ancient and Modern, &c. By Andrew Crichton, L.L.D. (Edinburgh Cabinet Library, Nos. xxiii. xxiv.) vol. i. pp. 174, 175.

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that, according to the custom of their country, they had so disfigured themselves on account of a chief who had been sick, and of whose death notice had just been brought to them. Not to remove the hair in such a case, indicates want of respect towards the deceased as well as to his surviving friends; but to have it cut close in any form is enough. Each individual follows his own peculiar taste, which produces the almost endless variety in which this ornamental appendage of the head is worn by the islanders during a season of mourning. It was also customary, on the occurrence of such a loss, to knock out one or more of the front teeth. The cutting of one or both ears was likewise common as an expression of deep grief, or of profound veneration for the dead. The Friendly Islanders were wont to remove a joint of one of their fingers at the demise of a favourite leader, while their neighbours in the Society cluster cut their faces, temples, and bosom, with sharks' teeth.*

Following out the principle now stated, we may hazard the assertion, that even the revolting practices connected with human sacrifice had a higher source than the mere impulse of revenge, and that when the blood of man was shed on the altar of the gods, an atonement or propitiation was originally intended. In the course of time, it is true, other motives obtruded themselves; and there is little doubt that, in the selection of his victims, the priest frequently acted with a reference to the

* Ellis's Polynesian Researches, vol. iv. p. 175. The import of the remark made in the text will be more fully comprehended when the reader turns to the Mosaical law, where it is thus written:—"Ye shall not round the corners of your heads, neither shalt thou mar the corners of thy beard. Ye shall not make any cuttings in your flesh for the dead, nor print any marks upon you." (Levit. xix. 27, 28.) "Ye shall not cut yourselves, nor make any baldness between your eyes for the dead." (Deut. xiv. 1.) At a later period, the prophet Jeremiah, bewailing the fate of his countrymen in the latter days, observes, "that they shall die of grievous deaths, they shall not be buried, neither shall men lament for them, nor cut themselves, nor make themselves bald for them; neither shall men tear themselves for them in mourning, to comfort them for the dead."—Chap. xvi. ver. 4-7.

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wishes of his chief, who might desire to remove a worthless or a dangerous subject. It may now be impossible to trace this horrible superstition to the fountain whence it took its rise; but, guided by the light supplied to us by history, as well sacred as profane, we may discover the process by which the notion of appeasement was gradually corrupted into the means of gratifying a vindictive feeling or of promoting a political interest. Without examining minutely into the motives of Jephthah when he devoted his daughter, we cannot shut our eyes to the operation of the same principle, which also finds a place in the early annals of Greece. Plutarch relates that three sons of Sandanke, sister to the King of Persia, were offered, in obedience to an oracle, to Bacchus Omestes. The blood-stained altar of Diana is frequently mentioned both by historians and dramatists. Even in the Homeric age prisoners were sometimes slain on the tombs of warriors. Octavius, at an era which boasted a high civilisation, is said to have sacrificed three hundred Perugian captives on an altar consecrated to the deified Julius, the founder of his family. This, no doubt, may be considered as the sanguinary spirit of the age of proscriptions taking a solemn and religious form. A similar conclusion may be drawn in regard to the practice of making a libation of the blood of the gladiators who fell in the arena, as mentioned by Tertullian, Cyprian, and Lactantius. All public spectacles, it is admitted, were to a certain degree religious ceremonies; though it is still possible that the combatants whose blood was formally poured out were victims to the sanguinary pleasures of the Roman people, and not slain in honour of their gods.*

* The Roman authors are full of allusions to human sacrifice. See, for example, the Annals of Tacitus, book i. c. 61, and his Germany, c. 10. Pliny's Natural History, c. 30, 1; and the Fasti of Ovid, book iii. l. 341, where is noticed the reluctance of Numa to offer a human victim. Hadrian issued an edict prohibiting such sacrifices; directed, it is supposed, against the later Mithriac rites, which had again introduced the shocking custom of consulting futurity in the entrails of men. But the sa-

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It may perhaps be regarded in the light of a proof that the usages of the Polynesians have descended to them from a remote antiquity, and through various channels, when we find among them a custom so singular as that of cutting a lock of hair from the head of a dying person devoted to the idols. When a battle took place, the first that either party slew was called "erehua." Frequently the victor jumped upon the expiring body, or spurning it contemptuously, dedicated its spirit to his gods. He then tore off a lock from the top of the forehead, and elevating it in the air, shouted aloud, "a ringlet!" Having despoiled the fallen warrior, he delivered the corpse to the king or priest, who, in a short address, offered the victim to the supernatural powers. The classical reader will recollect instances of a similar observance among the Greeks and Romans, or at least an allusion to an article of their belief that such an office was performed by the minister of death; it being understood that the seat of life was in the brain, and that the spirit could not be released from its earthly prison until a certain portion of the covering which protects the skull had been withdrawn.*

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vage Commodus offered a human victim to Mithra, as is related in his Life by Lampridius. In a word, human sacrifices are said to have taken place under Aurelian and even Maxentius. Several other instances are recorded by Mr Milman in his History of Christianity, vol. i. p. 27.

* In the beautiful verses which describe the death of Queen Dido, Virgil introduces this article of the popular faith.

> Nam, quia nec fato, merita nec morte peribat,
> Sed misera ante diem, subitoque accensa furore,
> Nondum illi flavum Proserpina vertice crinem
> Abstulerat, Stygioque caput damnaverat Orco.
> Ergo Iris croceis per cœlum roscida pennis,
> Mille trahens varios adverso sole colores,
> Devolat, et supra caput adstitit: Hunc ego Diti
> Sacrum jussa fero, teque isto corpore solvo.
> Sic ait, et dextra crinem secat: omnis et una
> Dilapsus calor, atque in ventos vita recessit.
>
> *Æneid.* iv. 696.

> For since she died, not doom'd by heaven's decree,
> Or her own crime, but human casualty,

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There remain, we are satisfied, among the people of the South Sea, manifold tokens that they are descended from those primitive families in Central Asia who, at an early age, carried knowledge into the West, and at a subsequent period allowed themselves to sink into a comparative barbarism, when scattered among the islands of the Indian archipelago. Their traditional recollections, not less than their superstitions, identify them with nations who have acted a more prominent part on the theatre of the globe, though climate, food, and peculiar habits have in some degree obscured the resemblance.

The progress which has already been made in the conversion of the natives on either side of the equator, may enable the reader to determine the question, whether, in all cases, the lessons of abstract belief should precede the direct means of civilisation; or whether savages ought not to be raised to the rank of men before they shall be invited to receive the mysteries of the christian creed. The analogy of the divine proceedings seems to suggest the inference, that as a fulness of time was required to prepare the heathen world for the introduction of the gospel, so the communication of some degree of secular knowledge, and more especially the habit of reflection and the desire of improvement, must be necessary to prepare the way for the sublime truths with which the missionary is charged. Experience, even in modern times, seems to justify the same method of procedure. It is manifest that, in most cases, the exhortations of the preacher produced little effect until the

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And rage of love, that plunged her in despair,
The Sisters had not cut the topmost hair,
Which Proserpine and they can only know;
Nor made her sacred to the shades below.
Downward the various goddess took her flight,
And drew a thousand colours from the light;
Then stood above the dying lover's head,
And said, "I thus devote thee to the dead.
This offering to the infernal gods I bear."
Thus, while she spoke, she cut the fatal hair:
The struggling soul was loosed, and life dissolved in air.

DRYDEN.

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chiefs had perceived the beneficial operation of knowledge, and more particularly of art, upon the outward estate of their people. Not being able to raise their minds above the notion of a local or tutelary god, the inhabitants of Polynesia, like all other tribes at the same stage of social existence, showed on every occasion a desire to measure the power of a new divinity by the amount of the advantages which he had conferred upon his worshippers. In this respect, they formed their judgment on a ground similar to that adopted by the American savages, who said, they "would always speak reverently of the Englishman's god, who had done so much better for them than any other gods had done for their votaries."*

In point of fact, the conversions throughout the islands of the South Sea have, in the first instance at least, been the result of authority, rather than of conviction produced by an appeal to the reason or the conscience. For a proof of this assertion, it will be sufficient to refer to the happy change which was so suddenly produced at Atiu, Mitiaro, and Mauke. The king, whose own belief in his native superstition was very speedily shaken, issued immediate orders to all his subjects to demolish the marais, burn the idols, and to commence forthwith the erection of a house for the service of Jehovah. Within twenty-four hours after he had first heard of the gospel, he expressed a desire to purchase an axe from his christian visiters, that he might cut down trees for the "posts of God's house." In an equally short space was the new religion established throughout all his dominions; and his people, as soon as they could be informed that their ruler had renounced the ceremonies of his ancestors, were ranked among the followers of the apostles, and forbidden to worship any carved image. Well might one who witnessed these events exclaim, "were three islands ever converted from idolatry in so short a time!—so unexpectedly!—islands almost unknown, and two of them

* Winthrop's Journal, p. 297.

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never before visited by any European vessel! In, as it were, one day, they were induced to consent to the destruction of what former generations had venerated, and they themselves had looked upon as most sacred. The sun had risen with his wonted splendour, gilding the eastern heavens with his glory; and little did the inhabitants of Mauke and Mitiaro imagine, that before he retired beneath the horizon on the western sky, Ichabod would be written upon the glory of their ancestors."*

The Sandwich Islands present another instance, not very dissimilar in principle, where the example of the monarch became a rule of faith to the people. In order to secure the overthrow of a system of belief which had inthralled the minds of all classes during many ages, Rihoriho found it unnecessary to use any other means than to place a dish of unwonted food on the table of his ladies. At Otaheite, too, the lessons of the missionaries had been received, with more or less respect, not fewer than sixteen years before any perceptible effect was produced. It is acknowledged by the zealous individuals themselves, who went forth on that mission of the purest benevolence, that, though the gospel had been constantly preached in most of the Georgian Islands, "there was no individual on whom they could look as benefited by their instructions; no one whose mind was savingly enlightened, or whose heart had experienced any moral change." Smitten with a deep feeling of despair, arising not less from the want of success than the apprehension of personal danger, they at length abandoned the undertaking, considered as an impracticable attempt to convey the blessings of light and salvation to a benighted race. At length they were recalled to their post by Pomare, whose reverses in the field of battle had led him to doubt either the power or the favour of his paternal deities. He, too, manifested his contempt for the ancient rites by cooking and eating meat in an unusual manner; and from that moment the wall of partition was broken

* Williams' Missionary Enterprises, p. 90.

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down; the idols ceased to be either adored or dreaded; the marais were no longer regarded as sacred; and the power of taboo was confined to certain individuals whose religion rested more on usage than on principle. The change, to use the language of the natives themselves, "burst upon them like the light of the morning."*

Mr Ellis supplies an additional fact, highly illustrative of the deference paid to authority in matters of belief among the islanders of the Pacific. When at Owhyhee, he was introduced to one of the royal ladies, to whom, as she seemed to be an intelligent person, he was desirous to recommend the gospel. "I asked her if she did not wish to learn to read, to know and serve the true God; and she answered, yes; but said, we cannot unless the king does. If he embraces the new religion, we shall all follow."†

The same writer, whose candour and intelligence invite the most unbounded reliance in his statements, observes, in reference to the first conversions in the Georgian Islands, that neither the time, the circumstances, nor the means, can in any degree account for the result; and therefore he concludes that the amazing change, in all its departments, bears the impress and exhibits in the

* Ellis, vol. ii. p. 88.

† Polynesian Researches, vol. iv. p. 41. We may add, that Kahumanu, the lady in question, soon afterwards embraced the true faith, and became an active assistant to the missionaries. It may perhaps be considered unjust to the character of these good men, to leave unqualified the assertion in the text, that most of the conversions, in the first instance, were the result of authority, not of conviction produced by a regular series of theological instructions. We mean not to insinuate that the christian teachers suggested, or in any degree countenanced, the employment of coercive measures on the part of the rulers, in order to accomplish the great object of their vocation. Though not unwilling to regard the chiefs as "nursing fathers and nursing mothers" to the church, nor at all reluctant to invite the arm of power for the enforcement of moral obligation, they did not in any case attempt to supersede argument by the intervention of pains and penalties. We simply mention, that thousands left their old paths, and turned their faces towards the new, for no other reason than because they found an example in the person of their sovereign.

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clearest manner the sovereignty and the power of the Almighty. During no period in the history of the mission could "the time to favour" the nation have appeared more unlikely. Public ordinances, it is admitted, were entirely discontinued. The missionaries had but recently returned from their banishment, and the work of instruction had scarcely been resumed. Considering the twelve years they had spent in Otaheite as so much time lost, they were commencing afresh their endeavours in another island, and could hardly expect that at this time, after so protracted a delay, God would at once prosper their enterprise.

Nor did the gospel gain its first triumph in Polynesia during a period of peace and leisure, when the minds of the inhabitants might have been invited to weigh its evidences or appreciate its doctrines. On the contrary, the change took place amidst war, terror, and defeat. It was a time of humiliation, darkness, and distress, when the people were torn by factions at home, and threatened with extinction by a powerful enemy abroad. Their teachers, it has been shown, were not more favourably circumstanced. Few in number compared to what they had been when they maintained their former station at Matavai, and prevented by personal indisposition and other causes from engaging in their usual labours, their exertions, much to their own regret, were exceedingly circumscribed. In addition to these discouragements, the prejudices of many of the king's most valuable friends were unusually strong, as they considered the continuance of his misfortunes to arise, in part at least, from the countenance he was supposed to bestow on the creed of the foreigners.

Hence it is manifest, that in regard to the means employed prior to the great religious movement, there was nothing extraordinary. "From the time of my arrival in the island," says one, "I had always a great desire to know whether any change had been made by the early preachers in their discourses and other means employed at this period; but I have not been able to learn that

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there was any thing extraordinary; they do not appear to have varied in any respect the manner or the matter of their instructions. I have often asked Mr Nott and others who were on the spot, if there was any alteration in the mode of instruction, or the nature of their addresses, as to the prominency of any of the doctrines of the gospel, which had not been so fully exhibited before; but I have invariably learned, that they were not aware of the least difference in the kind of instruction, or the manner of representing the truths taught at this period, and those inculcated during their former residence."*

The difficulty connected with such inquiries will be greatly diminished, if we take into consideration the important fact, that rude minds are more easily moved by an appeal to the senses than to the reason—by a shock from without than by a process of argument operating within. It will accordingly be found, that the sanguinary war in which Pomare was engaged, with the fears, sufferings, and humiliations resulting from it, had a much closer connexion with his change of theological views than can be claimed for the discourses of the missionaries, however earnest and persuasive. One of the most distinguished of these zealous men observes, "it is a very remarkable fact, that in no island of importance has Christianity been introduced without a war."† The "shaking of the nations" is not less necessary now than it was in the ancient days, viewed as an instrument for opening a path towards true knowledge and the means of salvation. The loss of a battle has often been succeeded by a more decided and permanent result than could have been produced by the united powers of eloquence, zeal, and the profoundest learning.

In Raiatea, a memorable conflict took place, which almost immediately led to the subversion of idolatry in that and the neighbouring island. One of the vanquished, when a prisoner in the hands of the hostile chief,

* Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. p. 181.
† Williams' Missionary Enterprises, p. 184.

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addressed his brethren as follows:—"This is my little speech. Let every one be allowed to follow his own inclination; for my part, I will never again, to the day of my death, worship the gods who could not protect us in the hour of danger. We were four times the number of the praying people, yet they have conquered us with the greatest ease; Jehovah is the true God. Had we conquered them, they would at this moment have been burning in the house we made strong for the purpose; but instead of injuring us, our wives or our children, they have prepared for us a sumptuous feast. Theirs is the religion of mercy; I will go and unite myself to this people." This declaration, we are told, was listened to with so much delight, and similar sentiments were so universal, that every one of the heathen party bowed their knees that very evening, for the first time, in prayer to Jehovah. On the following morning, after worship, both Christians and heathens issued forth and demolished every marai in Tahaa and Raiatea; so that in three days after this memorable battle, not a vestige of idol-worship remained in either of these islands! Nor must it escape notice, that all this took place under the sole superintendence of the natives themselves, for at that time there was no missionary in those parts.*

Such conversions, it is manifest, having so small a basis of principle, cannot be relied upon as the permanent foundation of enlightened faith or of a steadfast morality. The reader, therefore, will not be surprised to find that, in all the islands of the Pacific, there has been considerable vacillation, and that the belief which was so hastily acquired was not in all cases resolutely or consistently maintained. The missionary is too apt to forget that the era of conversion is but the beginning of his labour; and that his task, so far from being completed, is just about to commence. Among savages, there is a fickleness of nature which leads them, after the manner of children, to delight in change; and hence, when the

* Williams, p. 190.

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first excitement connected with the profession of a new religion has begun to subside, they not unfrequently show themselves ready to relinquish it. Of this unsteadiness we are supplied with an example by Mr Williams, who, after detailing in a very interesting manner the circumstances which attended the introduction of Christianity into one of the islands, relates that, "at a meeting of the chiefs and people, whether convened by accident or design we could not ascertain, a proposition was made and carried to revive several of their heathen customs, and, immediately after, the barbarous practice of tattooing commenced in all directions, and numbers were seen parading the settlement decorated in the heathen trappings which they had abandoned for several years." For a time, the missionaries deemed it expedient to yield; thinking it wise "to allow the people to take their own course, concluding that the young chiefs must have powerful supporters, or they would not have had the temerity to act as they did."*

Enlightened by the experience of many years, the christian philanthropist must now be convinced, that success in missionary enterprise is not always in proportion to the extent of the means employed; and, moreover, that the path which, in most cases, has led to a triumphant issue, was opened by circumstances which, to the human eye, appeared entirely accidental. Generally speaking, conversion has been preceded by a deep excitement arising from suffering or fear; by the ravages of war or famine; or by a bold innovation on the part of the chiefs, who had already opened their minds to infidelity relative to the power of their national gods. It seems absolutely necessary that, before his conscience can be affected with the sense of guilt, the spirit of the savage must be agitated by some external cause; and it

* Enterprises, p. 379. For some remarks already made by us on this subject, we refer to pages 103, 104; and we have now returned to it solely because we find a great difference of opinion subsisting among authors as to the most efficacious manner of converting heathen tribes.

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is a singular fact, attested by evidence which cannot be questioned, that the first intercourse of Europeans with the natives of Polynesia has usually been fatal to the latter. Fever, dysentery, or other diseases which carried off great numbers of them, have in most cases attended the introduction of our people into all the groups; and at Rapa, more especially, about half of the population were by such means swept away. These painful losses induced reflection among the survivors, who, in many instances, were disposed to forsake their ancient faith, either because their gods were unable to protect them in the presence of white men, or were utterly indifferent to their interests. Hence, under the direction of Divine Providence, a way was paved for the missionaries, who laboured to withdraw their confidence from the "lying vanities" in which they had formerly trusted, and to raise their thoughts to the contemplation of the great Creator.*

An intelligent native of Otaheite, it ought to be mentioned, proceeded on a different principle, and was converted by his reason and not by his fears. It is well known that a custom prevailed of offering pigs to the deity, which, for this purpose, were placed on a species of altar at the marai. From that moment they were considered sacred, and if afterwards any human being, the priests excepted, dared to commit so great a sacrilege as to partake of the offering, it was supposed that the offended god would punish the crime with instant death. The individual in question thought a breach of this law would be a fair criterion of the power of the idol, and

* Williams, p. 281, observes, "it is certainly a fact which cannot be controverted, that most of the diseases which have raged in the islands during my residence there have been introduced by ships; and what renders this fact remarkable is, that there might be no appearance of disease among the crew of the ship which conveyed this destructive importation, and that the infection was not communicated by any criminal conduct on the part of the men. The reader will remember, that it was when Pomare was ill his people proposed to destroy the images of Oro, presuming that the god was either malignant or powerless."

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accordingly stole some of the consecrated meat, and retired to a solitary part of the wood to eat it, and perhaps to die. As he was partaking of the food, he expected at each mouthful to experience the vengeance he was provoking; but having waited a considerable time in awful suspense, and finding himself rather refreshed than otherwise by his meal, he quitted the retreat and went quietly home. For several days he kept his secret, but finding no bad effects from the transgression, he disclosed it to every one, renounced his religion, and embraced Christianity.*

But a great question remains to be solved as to the result of missionary exertion on the character of the natives, and the permanence of the change which has been effected by the advent of a civilized people among them. In attempting to arrive at truth on these interesting points, we are impeded by the difficulty which arises from the marked disagreement prevailing among voyagers in regard to the actual condition of the inhabitants, both at the Society and Sandwich Islands. Such discrepancy, we are satisfied, does not arise so much from want of candour, as from the different aspect under which the same objects are contemplated by two classes of persons who have so little in common as seamen and ministers of the gospel. Captain Beechey has justly ascribed to the circumstance now mentioned the great variety of opinion on this head which has found its way into recent publications. In allusion to a distinguished missionary, he remarks, that he has impressed his readers "with a more elevated idea of the moral condition of the natives, and with a higher opinion of the degree of civilisation to which they have attained, than they deserve, or at least than the facts which came under our observation authorize. There seems no doubt that he has drawn the picture generally as it was presented to him; but he has unconsciously fallen into an error almost inseparable from a person of his profession, who, when

* Beechey's Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific, vol. i. p. 289.

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mixing with society, finds it under that restraint which respect for his sacred office and veneration for his character create. As in our intercourse with these people they acted more from the impulse of their natural feelings, and expressed their opinions with greater freedom, we were more likely to obtain a correct knowledge of their real disposition and habits."*

But, making due allowance for the laxity of morals which darkened the commencement of the young queen's reign at Otaheite, it will be freely acknowledged that, even in respect to manners and the usages of social life, a vast improvement has been introduced. In regard, again, to the more important interests of the eternal world, a revolution is accomplished, the effects of which must be permanent and progressive. The ancient idolatry can never be revived. The gods, whose most expressive emblem now figures as a post supporting the roof of a kitchen, cannot possibly recover their dominion in the Society Islands. No attempt, indeed, has been made, since the overthrow of the marais, to restore the wonted offering or to repeat the horrid sacrifice of human blood. The christian teacher has had to bewail, on too many occasions, indifference, and even apostasy, on the part of his catechumens; but in no case has any tribe or class of men returned to the abominations of their fathers, and fallen down to the carved image as an object of worship. Henceforth the religion of the Polynesians will be that of the gospel, more or less pure; and their habits will be formed after the example of the Europeans who shall trade in their ports or act as their instructors.

Since the year 1832, to which, in the fourth chapter, we brought down the narrative as it respects the islands of the Southern Pacific, there has not occurred any event of such paramount importance as to give a new aspect to the progress of affairs. Barbarism has indeed walked hand in hand with civilisation; and the purity

* Beechey's Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific, vol. i. p. 269.

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of the new faith has been occasionally stained by the wild enthusiasm of savage life, as well as by a certain degree of irregularity of conduct among some of the converts. But, on the whole, there has been a gratifying advance both in religious knowledge and in the several arts which minister to the social improvement of mankind. The residence of an English consul in Otaheite is itself a proof that the natives are no longer what they were in the days of Cook, or even of Captain Bligh. Industry is now supplied with a stimulus; the wants of the simple inhabitants are increased; their ambition is elevated; and they have now learned to aspire to an imitation of the dress, luxuries, and manners of the most enlightened people in the world. The master of a vessel lately on that station remarks, that "it is one of the most gratifying sights which the eye can witness on a Sunday in their church, which holds about five thousand, to see the queen near the pulpit, and all her subjects around her, decently apparelled, and in seemingly pure devotion. I never felt such a sensation of the real good of missionaries before. The women are all dressed in bonnets, after the fashion of some years back. Their attire is as near the English as they can copy."—"They have a good code of laws. No spirits whatever are allowed to be landed on the island; therefore the sailors have no chance of getting drunk, and are all in an orderly state, and work goes on properly. No boat is allowed to be on shore after nine o'clock; constables are stationed at different places to pick up all stragglers; and offenders are compelled to work on the public roads."*

* Scottish Missionary Register, vol. xxi. p. 32. As a contrast to the pleasing picture contained in this communication, we may refer to a "Letter addressed to the Directors and Friends of Bible and Missionary Institutions in Great Britain and Ireland." The depravity therein described is appalling, arising chiefly from the introduction of spirituous liquors. A chief addressing a missionary "on behalf of the natives of these islands and himself," says, "I hope he will go to Britannia and beg the people to have mercy on us; and then go to America and beg the people there also to have mercy on us; because it was these countries that sent the poison amongst us."

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The Georgian Islands, in the year 1838, appear to have been exposed to considerable alarm by the attempt to establish by force a Roman Catholic mission in Otaheite. Two priests who had landed were compelled to re-embark by the special orders of the government, which properly claims to itself the power of regulating all intercourse with foreigners. This step was deeply resented by the commander of the French frigate Venus, who adopted some strong measures against the queen and her councillors. About twelve months afterwards, a second infraction of national rights was perpetrated by Captain La Place of the Artemise, a ship of sixty-four guns, and a crew of 460 men, under circumstances of peculiar aggravation. On her voyage to the Sandwich Islands she struck on a reef about four leagues from the port of Matavai. The hull sustained so much damage that it was not without great difficulty she was brought into Papiti harbour to be hove down for repairs; and eighty of the natives were employed at the pumps, day and night, for more than a month. When she was again afloat, the commander convened a meeting of the chiefs, for the professed purpose of thanking them for the kind assistance they had rendered in repairing his ship and protecting his property; but in reality to demand the abrogation of their law prohibiting the erection of chapels, and the instruction of the people in the Roman Catholic faith. With this requisition they were forced to comply, as La Place declared that he would fire upon the town, and lay waste the island in case of refusal. The Artemise then proceeded to the Sandwich group, where the captain exacted from the king and his people twenty-five thousand dollars for a similar offence, the refusal to receive Romish missionaries; threatening, at the same time, to carry war throughout their country, unless the laws prohibiting their admission were instantly repealed.

It is well observed, that had benevolence rather than the spirit of proselytism been the motive, there were other islands where paganism, accompanied by all the

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horrors of savage life, still prevails to a fearful extent. In such scenes the charity of the French might have been nobly exercised; but from the day of their landing they became ministers of strife, assuring the people that the missionaries had long been teaching them a false religion, and that they themselves were come to make known to them the true and only way to heaven.*

Notwithstanding these efforts on the part of the intruders, their success has been very limited. The fine levied by the commander of the Venus rendered the papists extremely unpopular, both among the natives and foreign residents; and hence in Otaheite, as well as in the Marquesan Islands, where the allurements of catholicism have long been exhibited before the uninstructed and volatile inhabitants, and where presents have not been withheld to win their esteem, the first triumphs of popery, it is asserted, are yet to be achieved.

In the Hervey Islands, the progress of true religion, accompanied with a desire for knowledge, is most gratifying. At Rarotonga, the largest of the cluster, the churches present a cheering aspect, both as regards char-

* Report of the Missionary Society for the year 1840, p. 6. The directors state, that "they have not failed to make prompt communications on the subject to her Majesty's government in this country. These have been met with courteous attention; and it is hoped that measures are in progress to prevent the recurrence of proceedings as unworthy of a brave and generous nation as they might be fatal to the peace and prosperity of the Tahitian community."

The influence of popery on the natives of those islands in the Pacific in which it has obtained, was forcibly represented to an officer of the same society a short time ago by a Swedish gentleman who had made several commercial voyages in that distant sea. "In the voyage preceding the last, I landed at Gambier's Island to trade for pearls; the natives received me kindly, and under the inducement of a fair remuneration they assisted me in my object, and it proved successful. Before my next visit, a Catholic bishop with several priests had settled in the island, and as soon as it was made known by them to the natives that I was a Protestant, or one not of the true church, they refused to trade with me, compelled me to leave their port, and, in their own language, execrated me as a heretic."—Report of Missionary Society, p. 8.

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acter and increasing numbers. Education is earnestly sought, as well by the aged as by the young; and the morals of the people, which, only a few years ago, were loathsome in the extreme, are now marked by the pure influence of Christianity. The Samoan or Navigators' cluster affords a spectacle no less impressive; a rapid advancement in civilisation, knowledge, and religion. The schoolmaster finds constant employment, and the press is incessant in its labours; but both, it is said, lag behind the wishes of the converts. Their attendance, too, upon divine worship is so regular, that the chapel, which contains about a thousand, is usually well filled.

The Society Islands still retain the principles received from the early missionaries; and though in all cases the seed has not produced sixty or even thirty fold, it nevertheless continues to manifest the powers of vitality, and to prove its heavenly origin. At Huaheine, the congregation, which amounts to about eight hundred, show a growing attachment to the means of grace; and it is gratifying to learn that the increase is, generally speaking, from amongst the young, who, in proportion to their years, advance in knowledge and piety. At Raiatea, the average of the christian flock is four hundred and fifty; the communicants being now a hundred and fifteen. The means of instruction, both in schools and through the medium of the press, are sedulously applied, all being directed towards the advancement of the social interests and eternal welfare of the people at large.

From the Marquesas, the reports are less favourable than could be wished. It is confessed that the missionary at Santa Christina has not yet been favoured to behold any fruit arising from his self-denying labours. His work continues to be peculiarly a work of faith; for if any of the good seed sown by him has taken root, there is no visible result to attest the fact. The people still manifest the same indifference to the gospel which they have always shown, and even seem insensible to the advantages they would derive from a knowledge of some of the useful arts, which he has endeavoured to teach them. Early

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in 1839, "ten more Romish missionaries" landed at his station, from whence three of them subsequently proceeded to Nuhiva. The others have taken positions in various parts of the island; and the imposing ceremonial of their worship, their insinuating manners, and their skill in working on the self-interested motives of the people, have produced some effect. Still it does not appear that, since the arrival of these zealous teachers, any general movement has taken place in their favour, whilst the religious instruction communicated by the Protestant minister is at least as well received as formerly.*

By an arrangement, to which allusion has been made in a foregoing chapter, the Friendly Islands were consigned to the charge of the Wesleyan Missionaries, who have prosecuted their labours with a considerable degree of success. The chief of Vavaoo, who had assumed the title of King George, issued, about three years ago, a code of laws, in which, though there is a deep tincture of barbarism, we can trace the connexion between Christianity and the improvement of social life. In the first statute, he joins together murder, theft, adultery, and the retailing of ardent spirits. Suicide, or even the attempt to destroy life, is prohibited under a severe penalty; and "should one die from taking poison, he shall not be buried in the Christians' burial-ground, or as a Christian." He directs that all his subjects shall attend to the duties of religion towards God; that they shall keep holy the Sabbath-day, by abstaining from their worldly avocations, and by attending to the preaching of the word. It is added, that should any man "come to the chapel for the purpose of sport, or to disturb the worship; should he insult the minister, or disturb the congregation; he

* Missionary Report for 1840, p. 10-18. We refrain from entering into details relative to the Austral and Paumotus Islands, in both of which groups the gospel has been some time received, and the principles of industry established. The building has not yet assumed an imposing appearance, nor raised its turrets into the air; but the foundations, we trust, are so deeply laid, that neither accident nor violence will remove them.

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shall be taken and bound, and be fined for every such offence as the judge shall determine."

It is not difficult to perceive the dictation of the missionaries in most of the laws, as well as in the pains and penalties. Every person convicted of selling ardent spirits shall pay a fine to the king of twenty-five dollars, and be liable to have the liquor taken from him. In the case of a man, either living ashore or from on shipboard, being drunk and causing disturbance, he shall be imprisoned; and for the first offence pay a fine of eight dollars, to be doubled if the misdemeanour be repeated. Should a person living on shore entice a seaman to leave his vessel, he shall pay a fine of eight dollars; and should any one know of such desertion or seducement, and not give notice, he also shall be fined according to the nature of the offence. Should a man leave his wife and refuse to return, she shall claim his plantations, and whatever other property he may have possessed: and in case a woman forsake her husband, she shall be brought back to him, and should she decline to remain, it shall not be lawful for her to marry so long as he lives. Penalties are also enacted against tattooing and other idolatrous ceremonies; against leaving the island in a clandestine manner; against the attempt to enslave or sell any individual; and, finally, against cutting down timber without liberty so to do.

Addressing his chiefs, the sovereign of Vavaoo reminds them, that it is his desire his subjects should live in peace, and serve God in sincerity. "Therefore, I wish you to allow to your people some time for the purpose of working for themselves, and that you divide to each of them land for their own use, that they may have means of living, and of contributing to the cause of God." It is further enacted, that, in case of an Englishman or any other foreigner wishing to remain in the land, he shall be expected to obey the laws, and give aid, in whatever way he may have the means, towards the support of the government; and, in return, he is promised ample protection both of person and property. It is decreed by

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the same authority, that no one shall be put to death except by the express command of the king; a prerogative which is not extended to any of the inferior chiefs, from whose number the ordinary judges are selected.

Such arrangements, spiritual and secular, denote a considerable advancement in civilisation, and are, not without reason, regarded as a triumph gained by the cause of humanity and of divine truth. A similar remark may be applied to the Sandwich Islands, where the improving influence of commerce has been added to the elements of literature and of christian knowledge.*

From the source indicated below, we are enabled to give some account of Boki, the chief who accompanied the king and queen to England, and who had the honour to obtain an audience of George the Fourth at Windsor. On the 2d December 1829, he sailed for the island of Erromango, one of the New Hebrides, having under his command the two national brigs, Tamehameha and Karaimoku, with crews of 285 and 100 respectively. The object of the expedition was to establish a colony, after lading the vessels with sandalwood for the China market. It is known, that in the course of his voyage he touched at the island of Rotumah, situated in lat. 12° 29′ south, and long. 176° 57′ east, whence he carried away a hundred and eighty of the natives, with the view of augmenting the number of his settlers. He was never afterwards heard of; and it is believed that his ship blew up at sea, owing to the quantity of powder she had on board, and the extreme carelessness of the sailors, who seem quite insensible to such danger. The Karaimoku reached Erromango; but the warriors who landed suffered so much from sickness and the hostility of the inhabitants, that they speedily re-embarked, and directed their course to

* We have had the good fortune to obtain a manuscript Diary or Note-book, kept by a distinguished officer who spent some time in the Sandwich Islands, as well as in those of the Society group. His information comes down to the year 1836, since which period there has not been any material alteration either at Otaheite or Woahoo.

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Honoruru. Their evil destiny continued to pursue them; for of the whole armament, only twelve men, a woman, and a boy, returned to their native shore. The reader will not require to have the inference suggested to him, that such an undertaking evinces a considerable degree of enterprise on the part of the Sandwich Islanders, who know how to estimate the importance of a mercantile marine, trade, and colonies. Boki, who was much devoted to the English, seems to have imbibed their spirit. He was the most popular of all the leaders; and hence, during several years after his loss, his countrymen cherished the hope that he was still alive, and would at length appear amongst them crowned with success.

It is remarked, that the men of Woahoo and Owhyhee make excellent seamen, numbers of whom find constant employment on board whale-ships. Many of them have made voyages to the United States, the Spanish Main, and other distant parts of the world; and usually return to spend their earnings among their relations, where food still bears a low price, estimated in the currency of civilized nations. In former times, like all tribes at the same stage of social life, they were much addicted to pilfering. But this propensity, we are assured, no longer exists; and it is even asserted, that there is not a more honest people on the face of the earth. It is perfectly safe to leave the doors of the houses occupied by Europeans open at all hours of the day and night; and if any lost article is picked up in the streets, notice is immediately given, that the owner may recover his property. This salutary and important reformation is due to the laborious exertions of the missionaries, who have acquired a powerful influence over the public mind. "One day," says the journalist to whom we have referred, "I met at Honoruru a kanaka or slave, carrying a long pole with a silk handkerchief at the top of it; and upon being asked why he was thus parading the streets, he replied, that he was trying to find the person to whom the article belonged."—"Another instance, amongst many of the same description that might be adduced, will show the

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moral influence exercised by Christianity upon the natives. The captain of a whale-ship related to me, that he received a visit from an old kanaka, who brought on board with him two sacks of potatoes, which he presented to him, saying, that he had come to relieve his conscience by discharging a debt which he owed; having, before he became a Christian, delivered to him but eighteen sacks of potatoes, and received payment for twenty."

Some visiters lament that the missionaries, while they have improved the morals of the people, have so far broken in upon innocent habits, as to render them less cheerful and less attentive to personal cleanliness. Formerly they had numerous games, such as running, wrestling, and throwing the spear; but these have been generally discontinued, as being either too nearly allied to their idolatrous usages, or tending to encourage a spirit of gambling. The consequence is, that their manly sports have ceased; even swimming and bathing are in a great measure prohibited; and hence, it is alleged, whatever the Sandwich Islanders may have gained in the way of religious improvement, they have certainly lost much of their personal neatness, masculine character, and, more especially, of that dexterity in bodily exercise which formerly distinguished them. They are evidently becoming more timid; even the tone of voice and expression of countenance have in many cases undergone a manifest change, arising, it is imagined, from the subdued manner and serious look which they are taught to assume. "Too much cannot be said in favour of the missionaries, for the successful efforts they have made to civilize and educate the natives; but it is to be regretted, that their zeal too often carries them into extremes, the result rather of sectarian prejudice than of true religion. Hence a native is punished if he should be seen on horseback, or making a fire, or cooking a pig on Sunday. The late attempts to prevent foreign residents from drinking wine and spirituous liquors at their own tables, to close the billiard-room, and to take away the horses of those

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who rode out on Sunday for innocent recreation, appear to me vexatious and despotic, and to emanate rather from enthusiasm than from justice or sound policy."*

* We ought perhaps to mention, that the author of the journal now before us addressed the missionaries themselves on the subjects noticed above, and received from one of them the following reply:—"I received your kind note last evening, together with the accompanying memorandum, for all of which I beg you will accept my very grateful acknowledgments.

"For the frank and friendly manner in which you have expressed your views with respect to our work and the state of the people, for the valuable hints you have given relative to the improvement of the nation, as well as for the uniform gentlemanly deportment you have exhibited to the gentlemen with whom I have the happiness to be associated in the missionary work, my brethren join with me in tendering you our cordial thanks, and the assurance of our kind wishes for your best prosperity.

"We ought not perhaps, however, to conceal our apprehension that you may have been materially misled with reference to the prohibition, by authority, of the innocent amusements of the people. We certainly are not aware that the healthful exercises of swimming, riding on the surf-board, or on horseback, or any athletic exercises to which the people are attached, disconnected with immorality, are *prohibited.* In these exercises we would allow and encourage our *own children*, and certainly we would not have force employed to restrain the people.

"We do not think the people are becoming more filthy. There certainly is an increase of attention to their dress and habitations in some respects; though, perhaps, their eating and sleeping in the same houses, may give in some instances the appearance of less neatness in their dwellings. As to the degree of time and attention which the people devote, or are requested to devote, to evangelical pursuits, your views may perhaps be corrected, if I assure you that we maintain unswervingly, that *all* attention to religion should be *voluntary*, that no compulsion can force the human mind to offer acceptable worship or service to God; and that as to matter of fact, we do not think the people generally connected with our schools, or who attend our meetings, spend on an average more than one hour a-day in the school, and one hour a-day in devotional exercises.

"It is true that many persons of leisure spend more time in amusing themselves with a book, a pen, or a slate, and thus beguile some hours which would otherwise perhaps have been devoted to very unprofitable enjoyments. The mistakes and errors of the government must not be charged on us, nor must the adoption of good laws be put to our account, unless these result from the diffusion of the divine truths of the christian religion, the light of which shines in the inspired Bible, and the examples of those who attempt to follow its dictates.

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In proportion as we become acquainted with the habits of the South Sea Islanders, we perceive more clearly the grounds and reasons of their original laws. The removal of some of the old restrictions has not added either to their comfort or their domestic improvement. In the time of Tamehameha, they were strictly forbidden to sleep, eat, and drink together, as they now do, in the same room, and a breach of this regulation was punished with death; but the missionaries having abolished the taboo as applicable to these usages, it cannot be surprising that the people generally have less regard to cleanliness.

In defence of missions, the following facts are adduced, which are not in any degree exaggerated or too highly coloured. Answering the question, "what good have they done?" the journalist remarks, that "in 1819, the Sandwich Islanders were all inveterate thieves, and they considered guilt to consist only in not concealing a theft. When a white man landed, he could scarcely call his hat his own; the men and women cohabited promiscuously; idolatry of a horrid nature existed; and human sacrifices were practised. The high-priest could pray, or rather frighten, any one to death. How different is it now! A foreigner can sleep with his doors open, and expose every article of his luggage without the least danger of being robbed. The natives seriously believe, that if they break the eighth commandment, their bodies, after death, will be condemned to everlasting flames. In many other respects their morals are wonderfully changed for the better. The women no longer swim on board ships; the marriage ceremony is regularly established; infanticide has

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"The encouragement of industry and profitable labour, we feel to be an important object at which we ought to aim, not only as the means of an honourable and comfortable life, but as a grand safeguard against immorality and every vice, and as a christian duty inculcated in the Sacred Scriptures.

"I hope my statement may assist in furnishing some estimate of the real state of things at the islands. I still hope to meet you before you leave. If not, allow me to beg that you will favour me with your address, and believe me to be," &c.

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been abolished; and something like ties of domestic happiness are beginning to be visible. In short, the islanders believe that the missionaries have pointed out to them a short way to heaven, and do not doubt of punishment and reward in a future world. Many of them, too, act according to their belief, so far as the natural weakness of human nature will permit. The state of society has consequently been improved. Besides, thirty thousand of the natives can now read and write; many can cipher as far as long division, whilst others are learning navigation, that is, the use of the compass, and how to ascertain the latitude and longitude. Their teachers are the missionaries, who have translated and printed the New Testament in the Kanaka language; and when I left, they were about publishing a book on geography, interspersed with historical tales suited to the understanding of their pupils. Add to all this, that the missionaries are certainly sincere in their evangelical labours; that their moral conduct is exemplary; and that they are always ready to extend the field of conversion, by exposing themselves among the ferocious inhabitants of other isles; and thus you will admit, that their over-zeal deserves to be judged with moderation. I will always maintain that great, very great, praise is due to them for christianizing the natives; because the effects are decidedly good in a moral point of view, not to say any thing of the still more important object of saving souls."

In reviewing the conduct of missionaries, it should not be forgotten, that people in a rude state must be made to feel the bonds imposed upon them by religion. The faith of a barbarian applies to his daily habits, his food, his dwelling, and his raiment; and though it may prove a yoke too heavy for him to bear, his reverence for the gods whom he has been taught to acknowledge, induces him every day to do and suffer many things to which no feeling but the dread of an avenging power could command his submission. Some time must therefore elapse before the native of Otaheite, Woahoo, or New Zealand, can be held qualified to enjoy the intellectual or spiritual liberty

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wherewith the gospel will in due time make all mankind free. Those who were so long accustomed to the taboo could not at once be safely emancipated from all restraint; and assuredly in no respect did the teachers in the Sandwich and Georgian islands exercise their authority with greater wisdom than in proscribing the use of intoxicating fluids, licentious games, and promiscuous bathing. The only error with which they seem chargeable, is the attempt to extend similar restrictions to foreign residents, to the masters of ships, and even to the families of the British and American consuls; some of whom appear to complain that "thirst is elevated into the rank of a christian virtue."*

It is gratifying to read the following details regarding the progress of religion and learning at Lahaina, in the island of Mowee. "In the evening we went to look at a meeting-house, a handsome stone building, not quite finished, with galleries for the congregation. This church, when completed, will accommodate at least four thousand persons. The belfry and pulpit, indeed all the masonry and carpentry, are of excellent workmanship; and the whole, including a spacious burial-ground, is enclosed with a stone-wall five feet high and two feet thick. The meeting-houses at the other missionary stations on the islands are equally capacious, although not sufficiently so for the very numerous congregations that attend them; but they are constructed merely of posts, rafters, and dried grass, and will not stand more than four or five years. At Lahaina, it was intended to commence in a few days the building of a college or high-

* In the diary now before us, we observe several entries which animadvert rather severely on the "extreme religious zeal which partakes so much of bigotry." But the author, nevertheless, admits, that the missionaries have done incalculable good to the ignorant aborigines. "Were it not, indeed, for this circumstance," he adds, "it would require the patience of Job to conform or listen to their never-ending religious acts. On board we had prayers and grace eight times a-day, that is, before and after breakfast, dinner, and tea, below; and in the morning and evening on deck, for the benefit of all hands."

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school, for teaching mathematics, geography, navigation, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. I ought to have mentioned, that wherever there is a church, there is a school; besides which, others under the direction of native teachers are scattered about pretty thickly throughout the islands, all being numerously and constantly attended, not only by children, but also by full-grown men and women, many upwards of fifty years of age. It is as surprising as pleasing to observe the great progress the old and young have made in reading, writing, and ciphering, and how much they are taken up with their books and slates. It is computed that upwards of 20,000 can communicate by letter, which they are extremely fond of doing; and every vessel that passes from one island to another conveys an extensive correspondence. I have been amused to see them finish, fold up, wafer, and direct their letters, all which they do in a very odd and peculiar manner."

It is extremely gratifying to find, that in the Sandwich Islands social improvement follows closely in the path of learning and religion. To the south-east of Honoruru is a fine plain of two miles in extent, which is used as a mall or drive every evening in the week except Sunday. The king, the foreign merchants, and numerous natives of both sexes, are seen riding in this public place a little before sunset; amounting sometimes to a hundred equestrians, whose presence gives an air of gayety not less agreeable than surprising to the transient visiter, especially as the riders, male and female, display no small skill in the management of their horses, which have been introduced from Mexico and Chili. The "corso" can generally boast of four or five neat gigs and stanhopes, and now and then of a four-wheeled carriage belonging to the governor, drawn by kanakas instead of horses, when he goes short distances. Kahumanu, the queen-dowager, used to be drawn about in a like manner, in a sort of wicker-box placed on four wheels. It is admitted, at the same time, that the foreign society is not, in general, very polished, and even that some of the residents are of

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doubtful character, having made their appearance on the islands how and whence no one knows. The occasional visiters are chiefly the masters of American whale-ships, whose pursuits and conversation do not contribute much to the refinement of the natives. There are, however, besides the consuls and missionaries, several highly respectable individuals, who have acquired considerable property by means of trade and commercial speculations. The billiard-room at Honoruru is described as "the best that can be seen in any part of the world. It forms a separate building, compact and neatly finished. The table is on the second floor, in a spacious apartment, kept exceedingly clean, being well ventilated by day, and tastefully lighted up at night."

But amidst these tokens of improvement, painful proofs are every where making themselves manifest, that the natives are doomed to extinction, from the operation of causes more or less connected with the arrival of the white men. In reference to the Sandwich Islands, it is maintained that their number has diminished at least one-half since the days of Captain Cook, who estimated the population of the whole group at four hundred thousand. The same great navigator calculated that the inhabitants of Otaheite amounted to not less than two hundred and four thousand. They are now, we are assured, reduced to eight thousand; and the same comparative diminution has taken place in the contiguous isles, so that the gross sum does not exceed sixteen thousand, including all ages and degrees.

There is reason to believe, that the grounds on which Captain Cook founded his conclusions were extremely fallacious; the population at all times being so fugitive and uncertain in any particular place, that no correct inference could be drawn as to the amount of the whole. It is the opinion of the missionaries, that the Georgian and Society Islands, with their dependencies, contain nearly fifty thousand inhabitants. But they do not conceal that the natives themselves, deeply sensible of the decrease which has taken place, even within the re-

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collection of those most advanced in years, anticipate with horror the annihilation which now appears inevitable. The priests of a former age denounced the destruction of the people as one of the greatest punishments the gods could inflict; and they foretold the period when "the fan (bulrush) shall grow and the coral shall spread, but men shall cease." Pomare, addressing a European, said, "you have come to see us under circumstances very different from those under which your countrymen formerly visited our ancestors. They came in the era of men, when the islands were inhabited, but you are come to behold just the remnant of the people."

It admits not of any doubt, that the circumstances of society must at some time have been more favourable, not only to the preservation but to the increase of the inhabitants, or they could not have been so numerous as they were a century ago. There is no question that depopulation had taken place to a considerable extent prior to the epoch of Wallis' voyage, however difficult it may be to discover the causes which led to it. Infanticide and human sacrifices, added to the destructive wars in which they were wont to engage, will account in part for the disappearance of whole villages formerly occupied by large families; but as these atrocities were not of recent origin, they do not fully explain the evil which the philanthropist most deeply deplores. There is less difficulty in tracing to their source the loss of life and other calamities which have occurred since Europeans established a footing in the South Sea. Diseases of various kinds have been introduced, compared with which the maladies incident to the climate were mild and innocuous. The use of intoxicating drinks has likewise proved extensively fatal; still, it must be acknowledged, that all the causes which have been assigned by the native priest and the foreign missionary do not appear adequate to an explanation of the melancholy fact. We therefore turn with greater satisfaction to the assurance that, although the Polynesians, a few years since, ap-

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peared on the verge of extinction, they are now, under the renewing influence of true religion and morality, rapidly increasing. When the people of the Society group in general embraced Christianity, the teachers recommended that a correct register of the births and deaths, in each of the islands, should be regularly kept; and it was found that, from the operation of the causes just enumerated, even after the crimes in which they originated had ceased, the number of deaths exceeded the amount of births. About the year 1820, they were nearly equal; and since that period, population has been steadily advancing.*

But the hope which we are thus taught to cherish is not a little cooled by the reflection that, in all parts of the world where Europeans have been permitted to establish colonies, the natives have gradually disappeared, losing at once their name and their inheritance. To effect such a consummation, it is not necessary to revive the cruel bondage inflicted by Cortez or the atrocities committed by Pizarro. There seems to be a certain incompatibility between the tastes of the savage and the pursuits of civilized man, which, by a process more easily marked than explained, leads in the end to the extinction of the former. The primitive inhabitants of America, both north and south, continue to decrease, even under the benign influence of institutions calculated to promote their welfare. Africa, too, wherever

* Ellis, vol. i. p. 108. The author of the MS. journal states, on the authority of John Young (the person of whom Vancouver gives so interesting an account), that infanticide was not practised at the Sandwich Islands until foreigners settled among the inhabitants. "The crews of vessels that visited the group formed connexions with the women, who, finding their children unprotected by their absent fathers, had recourse to the crime of child-murder, sometimes before and sometimes after the birth of their offspring. Hence arose this unnatural cause of depopulation, which, although it is most strictly prohibited, is still secretly practised."

We doubt the soundness of this hypothesis, as applicable to the origin of the evil, though it may account in some degree for its extension.

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it has been penetrated by white men, presents the same melancholy phenomenon. In all parts of the globe, indeed, where the exotic takes root, the indigenous plants wither and decay; and we fear that, notwithstanding the favourable symptoms just recorded, Polynesia will not prove an exception.

It is a singular fact, recorded by the missionaries, that disease has followed their steps in most of the islands which they have visited, even where no such personal intercourse has taken place as would afford an explanation on the ordinary principles of medical science. A similar observation applies to New Zealand, where the people appear to have laboured under sicknesses hitherto unknown. A professional gentleman, whose services were required at the station of Kaitai, writes as follows:—"I regret to state that there has been more disease among them during this period than has ever been observed at any previous epoch of their history. Its nature also appears to be quite new, and such as they appear never to have suffered from before. It has, in many of its features, resembled the influenza prevailing of late years in England, which brought with it so much mortality; and this in like manner has been very destructive." In allusion to another ailment, the same writer observes, that "the epidemic from which they have been more recently suffering, has been more general, and of much more serious results to them. By it their numbers have been sadly thinned, and many have been carried off in a sudden and unexpected manner. It appears to have been of an erysipelatous character, and produced by the same causes as the former affection. During the last two months, the applications from the natives for the relief of this disease have been almost incessant; and at Paihaia alone, I should think medicine has been administered to not fewer than twelve hundred patients."*

* Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, Thirty-Ninth Year, pp. 104, 105. The author of the communications referred to is Mr Ford, who was sent out by the society

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In the islands to which these remarks apply, the progress of the gospel, though occasionally interrupted, is extremely gratifying, and must, at no distant period, take possession of the whole region. There is now more than a little leaven to leaven the unregenerate lump. Thousands of our countrymen are hastening thither, carrying with them the arts, the science, the literature, and the religion of England ; armed, too, with a moral power which cannot fail to subdue the savage hearts of the aborigines, and furnished with the means of civilisation, which, though they were inclined, they cannot long oppose. New Zealand, it is almost certain, will never again witness such sad scenes as passed in it a few years ago, when christian ministers were attacked and their stations demolished. Not fewer than a thousand natives were in arms, or following the footsteps of their sanguinary warriors, who, in proportion to their success in the fight, indulged the horrid propensities of cannibalism. A missionary observes, that " the smell of their garments, and the packages of human flesh which some of them were carrying as presents to chiefs at a distance, quite tainted the atmosphere. It might appear like casting pearls before swine, to speak to the natives to-day, intoxicated as they were with blood ; but I could not help warning different groups as I passed along, of the punishment which would await their diabolical wickedness in another world. Who can describe the feelings of disgust and abhorrence which the whole

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in December 1836, and whose " primary object is to benefit the New Zealanders medically." In allusion to the natives, it is remarked by Mr Davis, a missionary, that " in times of sickness they have no necessary comforts to support them. The treatment of the sick by those who still adhere to their old superstitious customs, is also a great means of increasing their patients' sickness, and depopulating the country. As soon as a person becomes ill, he is made 'sacred,' and is not allowed to remain in a house ; and being exposed to the open air, or merely protected by a temporary shed, his sickness increases, and death in most cases is the natural consequence, particularly if it happen to be the winter season of the year."—Report, p. 61.

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scene was calculated to excite! Dead to all emotion, the victors, holding by the hair, shook in our faces the heads of their vanquished foes; directed our eyes to the bones and hands which they were carrying in bundles on their backs; and even offered us the flesh for food. A boy, not sixteen years of age, stuck up within two yards of our fencing a shrivelled human heart."*

The number of natives killed amounted to about four hundred, besides women and children, to whom, on such occasions, no mercy is shown. Nor were the insurgents content with the revenge which they obtained over the enemies of their tribe: they destroyed the missionary station at Rotorua, laid violent hands on the teachers, and plundered a similar establishment at Matamata. But since the year 1836 there has not been any similar outbreak. The chiefs, respecting the power of Great Britain, and dreading retribution at the hands of the local government, have so far cultivated peace with one another as not to endanger the personal safety of Europeans, especially of those who labour for their advancement in divine knowledge and civilisation.†

This sentiment of reverence mixed with wholesome fear will be henceforth greatly increased when they know that the religious instruction of the people is conducted by persons under the immediate sanction of the crown, acting through the regular channel of authority. We have already mentioned that the committee of the Missionary Society in London had opened a communication

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* Scottish Missionary Register, vol. xix. p. 128.

† The impression made on the minds of the leaders by their knowledge that our countrymen have the power as well as the inclination to punish them for their ferocities, is strikingly exemplified by the following occurrence:—A missionary, in endeavouring to convince them of their sin, said, "friends, your deeds are written in a book." "Interrupting me with impatience, 'What book?' cried the chief speaker. He feared that the Europeans had been writing to King William. His impatience was wrought up to the highest pitch; and I was obliged to assume a serious air, and say, 'The book is in heaven.'—'Oh! very good,' he replied, seeming to be vastly relieved by the explanation."

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with the Bishop of Australia, in order to secure an occasional exercise of the episcopal functions in New Zealand; and also that, after due deliberation, a unanimous opinion was expressed as to the expediency of planting the church there in "the full integrity of its system." No sooner was the sovereignty of the queen over that colony formally announced, than this suggestion was made the basis of an arrangement which, under the divine blessing, must produce, in favour of all classes of the inhabitants, the most beneficial results.

In respect to the natives, it may be remarked that, though incapable of deciding in nice points of doctrine or ritual, they have penetration enough to note distinctions in the outward estate of those by whom such matters are pressed on their attention. At the earliest stage of missionary enterprise, the condition of the teachers was, perhaps, of less consequence, there being no standard by which either their attainments or their place in society could be determined by their simple catechumens; but now that a more general intercourse has succeeded, and the gradations of rank have become familiar to their eyes, an advantage, it is manifest, will attend the more elevated position to which the ministers of the gospel are raised in the Eastern colonies. Such an improvement has become not only suitable, but in some degree necessary, owing to the settlement of numerous emigrants both from Great Britain and America, who have recently established themselves in that part of the South Sea. In islands where we have consuls and mercantile companies, it is proper that we should also have the means of grace regularly supplied and duly administered. More especially are such arrangements imperative in New Zealand, which is now included in the foreign possessions of her Majesty, and therefore entitled to all the benefits of our liberal constitution.

We learn from one whose residence in the country entitles his opinion to much respect, that the labours of the Anglican church among the natives have been equally beneficial and acceptable. The liturgy, he assures us,

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as translated into the language of the country, "has been, next to the preaching of the gospel and the use of the Holy Scriptures, one of the most efficacious means of christian instruction. It is so simple, expresses so well the wants, both temporal and spiritual, of the people—and, like the Bible, from whence a large part of it is derived, it so exactly meets every case—that it comes home to the experience, the heart, and the conscience; tends to awaken the unconverted; and is a source of comfort and consolation to the distressed sinner under his convictions, while the more advanced are edified by the spirituality of its petitions. My mind is more than ever convinced, from my ministerial experience in New Zealand, of the essential value of a liturgical service to a people so uneducated and so unused to prayer. In this incomparable 'form of sound words,' as well as in Scripture, we are led to place our whole dependence upon a reconciled God through a crucified Redeemer: Christ and Christ alone is there made the foundation of our hope of pardon and of everlasting blessedness: and I believe that the sacred truths found in our Book of Common Prayer, which are constantly sounding in the ears and falling from the lips of the natives, have been one of the grand means of bringing them to their present state of mind. Translated into the New Zealand language, our liturgy is most strikingly beautiful. When any strange natives come into the chapel and hear it, they say, 'Ah! those are not native prayers: if we did as those persons pray for us to do, we should be very different from what we are; we should cast away all our sins; we should believe in their God, and be like them in all their doings.'"*

* An Account of New Zealand and of the Formation and Progress of the Church Missionary Society's Mission in the Northern Island. By the Rev. William Yate, &c., p. 232. Mr Yate supplies a case illustrative of the facility with which the natives are induced to believe, or rather to profess belief, and the motives on which they consent to admit the new religion. On a Sunday evening, after preaching to his congregation, he found himself surrounded, at the door of his tent, by the

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Making due allowance for the professional bias under which this author may be supposed to have written, no one will hesitate to admit that to a rude people it must be of unspeakable advantage to have a form of devotion supplied, combined with the fundamental principles of their faith. Even in the most enlightened condition of society, the pious mind naturally seeks aid to enable it to discharge aright that most important of all duties, an address to the throne of the heavenly grace, soliciting those things which are requisite and necessary as well for the body as the soul. The more refined and sensitive his feelings are, the more diffident the worshipper becomes; and the more ignorant and obtuse he may be, the greater is his need of being taught how to pray. The boor or the savage, who thinks that in respect to his purposes the Almighty is even such a one as himself, importunes and even expostulates in the most familiar terms; displaying an urgency and sometimes an impatience more natural to the wants and fears of the untaught barbarian, than suitable to the attributes of the omniscient Creator. We willingly remain unacquainted with the style or import of the prayers which may have been offered up, from time to time, by the sensual Otaheitian, or the sanguinary New Zealander, when newly converted to the true faith; but we can appreciate the full amount of the contrast implied in the exclamation, when the liturgy was first heard, "those are not native prayers!" Hence, the philanthropist at home, who takes pleasure in supplying the means by which so many praiseworthy efforts are made to turn the interesting tribes of the

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greater number of those who had been his auditors. The old chief, who thought he must say something, cried, "Come, friends, let us all believe; it will do us no harm. Believing, what will it do? It will not kill us, for the white people do not die; it will not make us ill, for the white people are not ill; it will not make us ashamed, for the white people are not ashamed; therefore let us all, all, all believe; and perhaps it will make the white people's God gracious to us; and our souls will not be any longer devilified, but will be Christified, and we shall all, all, all go to heaven."—P. 216.

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South Sea from darkness to light, will not now have to fear, in regard to New Zealand, a repentance to be repented of,—a conversion which, in order to be effectual, must be renewed in principle as well as in form.

Another great advantage resulting from the plan adopted by government to promote the religious improvement of the important colony under consideration, will be found in the perseverance and steadiness of its operation. In the other islands, where such support could not be acquired, and where reliance has in some degree been placed on the voluntary aid of the natives, the triumphs gained by Christianity could not in all cases be secured. To this cause, as well as to others of a more speculative nature, may be ascribed the partial failure of missionary labours in other parts of the world. In reference to Canada, for example, it has been remarked that, if suffering and hardships in the prosecution of the great work they had undertaken deserved applause and admiration, they had an undoubted right to be applauded and admired. They spared no labour and avoided no danger in the discharge of their important office; but it is to be deeply lamented that their pious endeavours did not meet with the success they deserved, for there is hardly a trace to be found of them beyond the cultivated parts of the country. "The whole of their long route I have often travelled; and the recollection of such a people as the missionaries having been there was confined to a few superannuated Canadians, who had not left that country since the cession to England in 1763, and who particularly mentioned the death of some and the distressing situation of them all."*

The chief ground of hope that the labour now expended in the islands of the Pacific will not be in vain, rests on the probability of success in the similar attempt to establish commercial relations with the inhabitants, and thereby to aid religious instruction by the resources of

* Travels across the Continent of North America, &c. Introduction, p. xii. By Sir Alexander Mackenzie.

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civilisation. The missionary cause will always feel weak and insecure, if it be compelled to stand insulated from political aid and the open countenance of the nation; and it is pleasant to observe that, in our days, maxims influence the conduct of our rulers, both wiser and more generous than formerly directed the administration of the colonies. But it is manifest that where the territorial property belongs not to the crown, the government cannot act through any other channel except such as may be opened by trade or negotiation.

We feel, accordingly, that this chapter would be imperfect did we not make a few observations on the commerce of Polynesia, viewed in connexion with the improvement of the people. This species of intercourse, it is obvious, must be founded on the basis of a convenient position relative to the several tribes whose mutual wants are to be supplied, and also on the productions of their respective soils. With regard to the former, the Society, Sandwich, and New Zealand groups present, perhaps, the greatest inducements to the trader. The commodities, on the other hand, which seem most likely to encourage adventure are common to the majority of the islands, if we except the whale-fishery, which has hitherto had its main establishment at Woahoo and the northern part of New Ulster.

In point of situation the Sandwich Isles have a great advantage, being on the direct route from the southern shores of continental Asia and the western coasts of America, the principal seat of the fur-trade. On this account commerce has sprung up there almost spontaneously; and Honoruru has become a depôt, whence not only Chinese but European manufactures are reshipped and smuggled on shore at the ports of Mexico and other republican states, which hold out a great temptation to engage in such contraband speculations. The China market supplies a constant demand for furs and skins, which are obtained in the neighbourhood of Nootka Sound, for spirituous liquors, blankets, cutlery, and beads. Numerous vessels are fitted out at the same

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port for the islands beyond the equator, in search of bêches-de-mer, pearls, oyster and turtle shells, sharks' fins, the esculent bird-nest, and sandalwood. The following list, transcribed from the manuscript in our possession, will show at once the nation, the tonnage, and the trade in which fifteen ships were employed :—

Name.	Tonnage.	Flag.	In what Trade.
Louisa	221	American	California
Volunteer	256	...	California
Sultan	285	...	Chinese
Chinchilly	147	...	Fijee Islands
Chance	45	...	Sandwich Islands
Convoy	147	...	California
Washington	52	...	——
Harriett	78	...	Fijee Islands
Unity	67	Sandwich Islands	North-west Coast
Dolly or Daule	182	...	Society Islands
Griffin	182	...	North-west Coast
Truro	29	...	Society Islands
Denmark Hill	252	British	Fitting out for whale-fishery
Alpha	101	Sandwich Islands	Wallace — Island Turtle
Loriot	93	American	Central America

The ships of the Hudson's Bay Company, on their passage from England to the Columbia River, touch at Honoruru for provisions and salt, which latter article can be procured from lakes or manufactured from the sea water. American, French, and other foreign vessels, after disposing of their general cargoes on the Spanish Main, sometimes return home by the way of China, in which case they occasionally touch at the Sandwich cluster to sell the residue of their goods. But perhaps the greatest degree of importance ought to be attached to the whalers, who make this station their principal rendezvous twice a-year, at each of which seasons not fewer than seventy sail remain at anchor in one of the ports six or eight weeks. As many as eighty have been seen at once, though a number proceed to Hido and Lahaina, where supplies are procured at a lower rate. It is unnecessary to add that shipwrights, carpenters, painters, sailmakers, and other mechanics, have settled in considerable numbers at the principal harbours.

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Considering that the Sandwich Islands were discovered by Captain Cook, and twice formally ceded to Great Britain, first by Tamehameha to Vancouver, and next by Rihoriho, who made a voyage to England in order to ratify the acknowledgment of his vassalage to our sovereign, it must be little gratifying to learn that the Americans enjoy four-fifths of the trade, which is carried on as well with their own country as with Mexico and China. For a time, commerce under the British flag was restricted by the privileges of the East India Company, which made it necessary for our vessels to sail under that of the native government; an inconvenience which was sometimes attended with positive loss. For example, an English sloop was burnt, the crew murdered, and the cargo plundered at Otaheite, by order or at least with the approbation of the queen, because the master refused to pay what he considered unjustifiable charges. The commander of her Britannic Majesty's ship Comet, which was then on the coast, did not deem it expedient to interfere, for, though he might know the property belonged to his countrymen, he observed that the colours were those of the Sandwich Islanders.

The trade of the Pacific has hitherto been nothing compared to its capability of future extension under judicious management. The Society Islands, in particular, have been long celebrated for their prolific soil and beautiful scenery. Replenished with luxuriant woods and a splendid vegetation, and enjoying, at the same time, the benefit of numerous streams, Otaheite, from the summit of its mountains to the seashore, produces every where in abundance choice food for its inhabitants, as well as the materials of an extensive traffic. To the breadfruit-tree may be added the sugar-cane, said to be superior to that of any other country, the vegetables called panare and apé, and the vee, a delicious kind of apple; all of which are indigenous and grow spontaneously. Sweet potatoes, yams, plantains, arrowroot, the ti-plant, the pine, the custard-apple, the mulberry, guava, orange, lime, citron, grape, Cape-gooseberry, and water-melon, are also among the gifts which

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come from the hand of nature. Pigs, goats, poultry, and horned cattle are now sufficiently numerous; and the pork is celebrated among seamen for its fine flavour. The same islands furnish also a variety of excellent timber for building, whether ships or houses. The tamonee, the trunk of which is sometimes eight feet in diameter and twenty in circumference, gives a close fine-grained wood, being more durable and of better appearance than mahogany. It is so hard, indeed, that the joiner finds great labour in converting it into furniture. The purou, another species of tree, supplies an excellent material for boats, being so tough as never to split, and so elastic as hardly ever to wear out. Both kinds grow in great abundance, and might be exported to a very large extent. It is, perhaps, of more importance to observe, that both the earth and the atmosphere are favourable to the growth of the vine, cotton, coffee, and sugar, the cultivation of which would afford a lucrative employment to the people, augmenting the small returns which they already derive from arrow-root and palm-oil.

But, in most respects, New Zealand presents the greatest facility for commerce as well as for establishing a valuable emporium between the Leeward groups of the Pacific and the shores of Europe. The number of ships which now touch at the Bay of Islands, Auckland, and Wellington, exceed any expectation that could have been entertained even ten years ago. In the course of four months have been reckoned nearly a hundred, including the whalers, chiefly Americans, who buy and sell to a considerable extent. The exports to Australia are becoming every day of more consequence, consisting of flax, maize, bark, pigs, pork, oil, lard, fish, potatoes, hams, mats, whalebone, seal-skins, timber, and planks. These transactions are important, not only in a commercial point of view, but also as a certain test of the progress made by the natives in civilisation and the arts of social life. In the year 1829, the articles chiefly in demand at the trading-ports were gunpowder, muskets, pistols, bullets, cartouch-boxes, flints, lead, and some cases

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of hatchets and nails. At present the most marketable goods are bales of clothes, blankets, prints, haberdashery, packets of slop-clothing, brushes, and blacking. There is also a demand for "boxes of soap;" for the people are not only very careful of their dresses, but much improved in their habits of cleanliness and health. They purchase, also, though in small quantities, tea, sugar, biscuits, and flour. Ironmongery is in great request; pots of different kinds; some tin-wares and a little crockery; spades for the cultivation of their ground, bill-hooks, axes, and saws. In the list from which these details are copied, we find fourteen cases of books, and nineteen of stationery.

The whale-trade, however, stands prominent in point of importance compared with all the other sources of wealth and naval power which have opened in New Zealand. Hitherto, it must be acknowledged, the mother-country has not availed herself, to the full extent, of the advantages which the new colonies have presented, especially in regard to the enlargement of the mercantile navy, viewed as a nursery for seamen. Several years ago, the Americans could boast of having in the South Sea fishery about two hundred and fifty ships, each from three to five hundred tons burden. The officers and crew of every vessel amounted, on the average, to twenty-five individuals, five of whom may be considered as never having been at sea before. The voyage lasts generally about three years, nearly the whole of which the sailors are afloat, exposed to all climates and to every vicissitude of weather; the tempests of Cape Horn, the squalls of the tropics, the hurricanes of California, and the typhoons of Japan, being equally familiar to them. The employment of whale-fishing, more perhaps than any other, habituates the men to danger, and calls forth such a degree of dexterity, skill, nerve, and presence of mind, as renders them well fitted for the duties of an armed ship. It deserves to be mentioned, too, that nearly half of the black oil obtained by the adventurers of Nantucket and New Bedford is conveyed to England, and sold there at a profit of fifty per cent.,

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even after paying the duty chargeable on it as a foreign commodity. This fact, if it does not prove a great relaxation of enterprise on our side, leaves no doubt as to the increasing activity and success of the shipping interest in the United States, the natives of which at once increase their wealth and add immensely to the future resources of their country.*

This subject merits attention on the part of our rulers, who are not ignorant that, while the foreign trade has increased, the number of vessels employed by our merchants has rather diminished. If we look to the export and tonnage returns, it will be found that our maritime resources during the last forty years have been far from keeping pace with our commercial growth, and that our exports to the countries which we have made the greatest sacrifices to propitiate have been constantly declining, while those to our colonies, for whose interests we have done so little, have been as rapidly increasing; and that it is the extension of the latter which has concealed and counterbalanced the decay of the former. The truth of these remarks will appear from the subjoined statement:—

	Exports.	Imports.	Tonnage.
1802	£38,309,980	£29,826,210	2,167,000
1838	105,170,549	61,268,320	2,890,601

	BRITISH SHIPS.		FOREIGN SHIPS.	
	Vessels.	Tons.	Vessels.	Tons.
1802	7,806	1,333,005	3,728	480,251
1838	16,119	2,785,387	8,679	1,211,066

Thus, while the British tonnage during this interval has advanced in the proportion of 13 to 27, the foreign shipping employed in conducting our trade has increased from 48 to 121, that is, nearly threefold. The British and foreign shipping engaged in the trade with Prussia, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, since 1820, is as follows:—

British declined with Prussia from ....539 to 270
Denmark............. 57 - 16
Norway...............168 - 15
Sweden...............123 - 66

* Manuscript Journal.

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And the foreign ships trading with Great Britain, have, in these states, increased during the same period as follows :—

Prussia has increased from	258	to	903
Denmark	44	-	624
Norway	88	-	785
Sweden	71	-	250

The increase of shipping in the colonies has, in the meanwhile, increased at such a rate as to form some compensation for the diminished number of vessels employed in the trade with foreign countries. Between 1820 and 1836, Australia augmented her tonnage from 1291 to 19,195 ; and Canada from 691,720 to 1,172,335.*

Such details will not seem out of place, when viewed in connexion with our remarks on the trade of the Pacific, which is capable of great extension, and must one day prove of immense importance to this country.

Our limits forbid more ample details on the commercial prospects of Polynesia, a portion of the world which presents itself to us in the most interesting light, when we consider the means that ought to be employed for its moral and religious improvement. Both good and evil are in our hands, and the natives cannot enjoy the one without being exposed to the malign influence of the other. The national mind, more especially in New Zealand and the Sandwich Isles, has been put in motion ; and we doubt not that the result, under the direction of Infinite Wisdom, will prove most beneficial. In contemplating the happy progress which mankind have already made in knowledge and refinement, the reader will find pleasure in perusing the following remarks, equally pregnant with intelligence and hope. Describing the progress of the Romans in Britain, the historian of their empire observes, that " the hostile tribes of the North, who detested the pride and power of the King of the

* Compiled by Archibald Alison, Esq., from Porter's Parliamentary Tables. See a pamphlet entitled, " Ships, Colonies, and Commerce." London, 1839.

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World, suspended their domestic feuds; and the barbarians of the land and sea, the Scots, the Picts, and the Saxons, spread themselves with rapid and irresistible fury from the wall of Antoninus to the shores of Kent. Their southern neighbours have exaggerated the cruel depredations of the Scots and Picts; and a valiant tribe of Caledonia, the Attacotti, the enemies and afterwards the soldiers of Valentinian, are accused by an eyewitness of delighting in the taste of human flesh. When they hunted the woods for prey, it is said that they attacked the shepherd rather than his flock, and that they curiously selected the most delicate and brawny parts of both males and females, which they prepared for their horrid repasts. If, in the neighbourhood of the commercial and literary town of Glasgow, a race of cannibals has really existed, we may contemplate, in the period of the Scottish history, the opposite extremes of savage and civilized life. Such reflections tend to enlarge the circle of our ideas, and to encourage the pleasing hope that New Zealand may produce, in some future age, the Hume of the southern hemisphere." Such were the words of prophetic genius seventy years ago; but what would the historian have said if he had lived to the present time, and seen within that short period so vast a change in human affairs, that the event which he then regarded as so improbable is already accomplished, and the descendants of the cannibals of Caledonia are setting forth from the shores of the Clyde, to convey to the cannibals of New Zealand the wonders of European art and the blessings of christian civilisation? These marvellous changes do indeed enlarge the circle of our ideas, for they carry us back to primeval days, and the first separation of the different races of mankind upon earth. For what said the Most High in that auspicious moment when the dove brought back the olive-branch to a guilty and expiring world, and the "robe of beams was woven in the sky which first spoke peace to man"— "God shall increase Japhet, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant." God

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has multiplied Japhet, and well and nobly has the race of that son of Noah performed its destiny. After conquering in the Roman legions the ancient world—after humanizing the barbarism of antiquity, by the power of law, the "Audax Japeti genus" has transmitted to modern times the glorious inheritance of European freedom. After having conquered in the British navy the empire of the seas, it has extended to the utmost verge of the earth the influence of humanized manners, and bequeathed to future ages the far more glorious inheritance of British colonization. But mark the difference in the action of the descendants of Japhet—the European race—upon the fortunes of mankind, from the influence of that religion to which the Roman Empire was the mighty pioneer. The legions conquered only by the sword; fire and bloodshed attended their steps; they gave peace only by establishing a solitude. But our colonists set out with the olive-branch, not the sword in their hand; with the Cross, not the eagle on their banners; they bring not war and devastation, but peace and civilisation around their steps; and the track of their chariot-wheels is followed, not by the sighs of a captive, but the blessings of a renovated world. "He shall dwell," says the prophecy, "in the tents of Shem." Till these times, that prophecy has not been accomplished: the descendants of Shem—the Asiatic race—still hold the fairest portion of the earth, and the march of civilisation, like the path of the sun, has hitherto been from east to west. From the plains of Shinar to the isles of Greece—from the isles of Greece to the hills of Rome—from the hills of Rome to the shores of Britain—from the shores of Britain to the wilds of America, the progress of civilisation has been steadily in one direction, and it has never reverted to the land of its birth. Is then this progress destined to be perpetual? Is the tide of civilisation to roll only to the foot of the Rocky Mountains, and is the sun of knowledge to set at last in the waves of the Pacific? No; the mighty day of four

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thousand years is drawing to its close; the sun of humanity has performed its destined course; but long ere its setting rays are extinguished in the west, its ascending beams have glittered on the isles of the eastern seas. We stand on the verge of the great Revolution of Time—the descendants of Japhet are about to dwell in the tents of Shem—civilisation is returning to the land of its birth, and another day and another race are beginning to dawn upon the human species. Already our arms in India have given herald of its approach, and spread into the heart of Asia the terrors of the English name and the justness of their rule. And now we see the race of Japhet setting forth to people the isles of the east, and the seeds of another Europe and a second England sown in the regions of the sun. But mark the words of the prophecy:—"He shall dwell in the tents of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant." It is not said Canaan shall be his *slave*. To the Anglo-Saxon race is given the sceptre of the globe, but there is not given either the lash of the slave-driver or the rack of the executioner. The East will not be stained by the same atrocities as the West; the frightful gangrene of an inthralled race is not to mar the destinies of the family of Japhet in the Oriental world; humanizing, not destroying, as they advance; uniting with, not enslaving, the inhabitants with whom they dwell, the British race may be improved in vigour and capacity in the Eastern Hemisphere, and the emigrants whom we see around us may become the progenitors of a people destined to exceed the glories of European civilisation, as much as they have outstripped the wonders of ancient enterprise.*

* "Ships, Colonies, and Commerce," containing an address by the accomplished historian of the French Revolution, to persons connected with New Zealand colonization. Such views, as he well remarks, promise to realize the beautiful anticipations contained in the "Pleasures of Hope"—

"Come, bright Improvement! on the car of Time,
And rule the spacious world from clime to clime;

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The latest accounts give a favourable view of missionary exertion at all the stations, though success is sometimes clouded by the careless habits of the natives, and occasionally by opposition from the Roman Catholics. In New Zealand, it is remarked "the Papists are on the alert. Their establishment now is one bishop, eight priests, and two catechists; and a French ship of war is expected to bring, it is said, ten more." The American teachers at the Sandwich Islands indulge in similar complaints. One of them writes, that since the triumph of the French over the government, in July 1839, the moral aspect of things has been deepening with gloom. The repeal of the law forbidding the importation of alcohol into the kingdom, effected by the French treaty, was followed by a large importation and sale of the article by the French consul and others. The consequences were disastrous. The formerly quiet town of Honoruru became a scene of revelry and noise, and the resort of the vicious was never before surpassed. Many members of the churches were drawn into the vortex, and were cut off. The example so boldly set in the metropolis at length began to spread to other parts of the island. Matters grew, for a time, worse and worse. The congregations dwindled, the love of Christians waxed cold, and with the introduction of intoxicating drinks, the other concomitant vices of heathenism were also revived. In the month of October, when this state of things was at its height, the king made a visit to this island from Mowee; and, being supported by

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Thy handmaid-arts shall every wild explore,
Trace every wave, and culture every shore.
On *Zealand's hills*, where tigers steal along,
And the dread Indian chants a dismal song,
Where human fiends on midnight errands walk,
And bathe in brains the murderous tomahawk;
There shall the flocks on thymy pasture stray,
And shepherds dance at Summer's opening day;
Each wandering genius of the lonely glen
Shall start to view the glittering haunts of men,
And silent watch, on woodland heights around,
The village curfew as it tolls profound."

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Commodore Wilkes, his officers, and the consul, he published a law prohibiting his subjects from making and using intoxicating drinks. The evil by this means has in a good measure been arrested, and order and quiet nearly restored.

"Still," adds the writer, "we are not without our trials. Romanism has been and is still making considerable progress among us. Its priests are flocking in upon us from France, and are organizing a deadly opposition against us among the natives. By the most deceptive arts they are enticing to their embrace this simple people. Numbers who have long and perseveringly withstood the Word of God and continued in impenitence, are now flaming Papists, going about the country seeking proselytes, on the promise of health to the sick, and life and salvation to all, and denouncing us as blind deceivers of the blind. These prepare the way for the priest, who follows after in his long robe, with crucifix in hand, baptizing all who apply, and urging those who do not, to come and receive the water of regeneration."

In regard to grants of land in New Zealand, we have only to state that the government has nominally resumed all such tracts as were purchased from the natives, to be restored to settlers at a fixed price, and in quantities suited to their means of cultivation. The sum demanded by the public agent is very moderate, not being meant as a source of revenue, but simply as the means of promoting colonization, and of securing the comfort of immigrants.

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